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INDIA OF DHARMA SUTRAS

DR. VEDA MITRA

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India of Dharma Sutras

(i) Introduction

(ii) Education } in Ancient India

(iii) Happy Married Life }

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Study

of

1. Gautama Dharma Sūtra
2. Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
3. Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra
4. Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra
5. Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra
6. Yājñavalkya Smṛti
7. Manu Smṛti

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India of Dharma Sutras

By

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PREFACE

The present volume is my thesis entitled "Study of the Dharma Sūtras with special reference to the Gautama Dharama Sūtra" approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) by the University of Delhi, 1961.

It is true that many historians have already made significant contributions to the study of "Dharma Sūtras", still if this humble attempt of mine throws some more light on the subject, I will consider myself completely rewarded.

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor Dr. Rasik Vihāri Joshi, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Paris), Reader in Sanskrit, Delhi University, who always helped me for my researches.

To Dr. N. N. Chowdhry, M.A., D. Litt., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Delhi University, and Shrī Sādhu Ram of K. M. College, Delhi, I offer my sincere thanks for their help and valuable suggestions.

I am, further, thankful to all those scholars whom I have approached through their works and personally.

Moreover, I find no words to express my sense of gratitude to Shrī L.O. Joshi, who is so busy in his multifarious activities in the capital and official duties, but due to love of the subject and love of the Vedic civilization, spared his valuable time to read the whole thesis of 350 pages with keen interest and has written this foreword (given in I and II parts of this volume).

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New Delhi-5.
1-3-1965

VEDA MITRA

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	a	ट्	ṭ
आ	ā	ठ्	ṭh
इ	i	ड्	ḍ
ई	ī	ढ्	ḍh
उ	u	ण्	ṇ
ऊ	ū	त्	t
ऋ	ṛ	थ्	th
ए	e	द्	d
ऐ	ai	ध्	dh
ओ	o	न्	n
औ	au	प्	p
अं	ṃ, ñ	फ्	ph
अः	ḥ	ब्	b
क्	k	भ्	bh
ख्	kh	म्	m
ग्	g	य्	y
घ्	gh	र्	r
ङ्	ṅ	ल्	l
च्	c	व्	v
छ्	ch	श्	ś
ज्	j	ष्	ṣ
झ्	jh	स्	s
ञ्	ñ	ह्	h

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. V.	Atharvaveda
Agni. Gṛ. S.	Agniveśya Gṛhya Sūtra
Ait. Ā.	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Ait. Br.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Ā. S. S. P.	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona
Āp. Dh. S.	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
Āp. Gṛ. S.	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
Āp. Ś. S.	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Āśv. Gṛ. S.	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
A. S. B.	Asiatic Society of Bengal
Baud. Dh. Ś.	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra
Baud. Gṛ. S.	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Baud. Ś. S.	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Bṛ. Up.	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Bhār. Gṛ. S.	Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra
B. B. R. A. S.	Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
B.S. or B. S. S.	Bombay Sanskrit Series
Cat.	Catalogue
C. O.	Calcutta Oriental Series
Ch. Up.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
Dh. S.	Dharma Sūtra
Gaut. Dh. S.	Gautama Dharma Sūtra
Gobh. Gṛ. S.	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
H. A. S. L.	History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Max Muller
H. Dh. Ś.	History of Dharma Śāstra by P.V. Kane
I. A.	Indian Antiquary
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
Ind. Stud.	Indische Studien
Jaim. Br.	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
Jaim. Gṛ. S.	Jaiminīya Gṛhya Sūtra

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J. A. O. S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J. A. S. B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J. B. B. R. A. S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Jivananda Sṃ.	Jivananda's Dharma Śāstra Saṁgraha published in 1876 in 2 parts
Kāṭh. Gṛ. S.	Kāṭhaka Gṛhya Sūtra
Kāṭh. Saṃ.	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
Kāt. Ś. S.	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Kauś. S.	Kauśika Sūtra
Kauś. Br.	Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa
Kauś. Gṛ. S.	Kauśītaki Gṛhya Sūtra
Kauś. Up.	Kauśītaki Upaniṣad
M. Br.	Mantra Brāhmaṇa
Mān. Gṛ. S.	Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra
Mait. Saṃ.	Maitrāyani Saṃhitā
Mit.	Mitākṣara on Yājñavalkya
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
Manu.	Manusmṛti
Panch. Br.	Pancta Vinśa Brāhmaṇa (Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa)
Pār. Gṛ. S.	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
Ṛg.	Ṛgveda
Śānkh. Gṛ. S.	Śānkhāyaṇa Gṛhya Sūtra
Śānkh. Ś. S.	Śánkhāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra
Śat. Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East Series, Oxford
S. V.	Sāma Veda
Tait. Ā	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tait. Br.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Saṃ.	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
Vāj. Saṃ.	Vājasneyī Saṃhita
Vaikh. Gṛ. S.	Vaikhānasa Gṛhya Sūtra
Vas. Dh. S.	Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra Vasiṣṭha Dharma Śāstram
Y. V.	Yujur Veda
Yāj.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti
Z. D. M. G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen Loudeschen

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NON-SANSKRITIC NAMES AND TERMS

Cf.	Compare
Comm.	Commentary
Crit.	Critical
E.G.	For Example
F.N.	Foot Note
F. Ns.	Foot Notes
Gr.	Grammar
Introd.	Introduction
Ms.	Manuscript
Mss.	Manuscripts
M. W.	Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier Williams
Om.	Omitted
Var. lect.	Variant readings

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INTRODUCTION

The *Kalpa Sūtras* comprising *Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma Sūtras* throw a flood of light on almost all the important aspects of life, giving a vivid, complete and comprehensive picture of Ancient Indian life. The rich store of information given in the *Kalpa Sūtras* is indispensable to understand the ancient Hindu Culture. *"Manu"* and *"Yājñavalkya" smṛtis* have considerably influenced the social life of the Hindus. *Smṛtis, Dharma Śāstras* and *Dharma Sūtras* are closely allied and complementary to each other. They deal with the various aspects of the social and religious life of the Hindus from birth to the death of a person. They discuss, in details, the different rituals, manners, moral teachings, customs and *sanskāras* observed in ancient India. Most of the ceremonies of the past of the *Sūtra Period* closely agree with the present-day ceremonies, in different parts of India. An attempt has been made in the present thesis to give a complete, coherent and systematic account of ancient Indian life as depicted in the *Dharma Sūtras.* Most important *Dharma Sūtras* have been utilized and supplementary information on the subject has been derived from the *Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads, Smṛtis,* etc.

In most cases, the *Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma Sūtras* were probably composed by one and the same author. Most of the *Dharma Sūtras* were composed between circa 1000 B.C. to 200 B.C. *Āpastamba and Baudhāyana,* it appears, founded their *Sūtra* Schools in Deccan.

Inter-marriages were allowed and different castes and communities had come into existence, but all lived together peacefully. They believed in self-realization through meditation and prayer. Education was free and compulsory for

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the members of the three higher castes, but the *Śūdras* were not allowed to study the Vedas. There was a close and affectionate contact between the teacher and the taught, and the development of *character* was regarded as the chief aim of education. Family was patriarchal in character, and the joint family system was quite popular. Women enjoyed equal rights. They participated in the performance of sacrifices and were entitled to inherit property. There was no *sati-system* and the widows could raise off-spring through *Niyoga*. Good and righteous conduct was considered higher than ritual as well as learning. Moral virtues were regarded as the main source of happiness. Hospitality was a special feature of Indian culture. The people believed in the doctrine of *Karman* and laid great stress on *Dharma, Artha and Kāma*. The *Dharma Sūtras* attach the highest importance to the Second *Āśrama i.e. Gṛhasthāśrama*, which supports all the other *Āśramas* and perpetuates religion and culture through procreation of progeny.

1. Gotama

The word *Gotama* has been used in the mantras of the *Ṛgveda*[1] and the *Atharvaveda*[2] several times in several forms,

---

१.	गोतम	१, ७९, १०.
	गोतमः	१, ६२, १३ ; ७८, २ ; ८८, ५; १८३, ५ १, ११६, ९.
	गोतमस्य	१, ७८, १; ४, ३२, १२; ८, ८८, ४
	गोतमाः	४, ४, ११
	गोतमात्	१, ८५, ११
	गोतमाय	१, ६०, ५ ; ६१, १६ ; ८८, ४
	गोतमासः	१, ६३, ९ ; ७७, ५ ; ९२, ७
	गोतमेभिः	
२.	गोतम	१८, ३, १६.
	गोतमम्	४, २९, ६
	गोतमासः	२०, ३५, १६

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but it is not found in the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda*. *Gotama*, however, is mentioned in the list of seers, given in the beginning of the hymns in all the four Vedas.

In the *Ṛgveda*, the seer of Sūkta (1.79) is *Gotama*. The hymn consists of 12 mantras, of which the '10th' is addressed to one *Gotama*. Evidently, the speaker cannot address himself. Hence, we are justified in concluding that this *Gotama* signifies something different from the Ṛṣi.

But in a preceding hymn (1.77.5),[1] *we come across two words* गोतमेभिः and विप्रेभिः both of which can be used as nouns as well as adjectives. But syntactically, it appears more appropriate to take गोतमेभिः as an adjective of विप्रेभिः.

This becomes clear when we read mantra 'nine' of Sūkta 63 of the same Book. There the word गोतमेभिः is translated by *Sāyaṇa* as गन्तृतमैः *i.e.*, "fast running", being devired from गम् 'to go' like the word गौ which is homonym for so many words—cow, bull, etc. In other contexts, also, it is not necessary to treat the word as a proper noun, for it has been used in a variety of senses in the whole of Vedic literature. *Dr. Monier Williams* in his Dictionary p. 369, also, supports this view.

This shows that in many places of the texts of the Mantras, '*Gotama*' is not a particular person. Later on, there might have been a particular Ṛṣi, '*Gotama*' by name, who is so well-known in the *Sanskrita* literature.

In their Vedic Index[2] *Prof. A. A. Macdonell* and *Dr. A. B. Keith* write about *Gotama* like this :

"*Gotama* is mentioned several times in the *Ṛgveda* but never in such a way as to denote personal authorship of any hymn[3].

---

1. एवाग्ने गोतमेभिः ऋतावा विप्रेभिरस्तोष्ट जातवेदाः ॥
2. Vedic Index. Vol. I. pp. 240-241.
   Rv. 1.62, 13 ; 78, 2 ; 84.5 ; 85, 11 ; IV. 4, 11.
3. Olden berg, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen Landis. Chen Gesellschaft, 42, 215.

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It appears to be clear that he was closely connected with the *Aṅgirasas*, for, the *Gotamas* frequently refer to *Aṅgiras*.[1]

That he bore the patronymic *Rāhugaṇa* is rendered probable by one hymn of the *Ṛgveda*,[2] and is assumed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[3] where he appears as the *Purohita*, or domestic priest, of Mādhava Videha, and as a bearer of Vedic civilization. He is also mentioned in the same *Brāhmaṇa*[4] as a contemporary of *Janaka of Videha*, and *Yājñavalkya*, and as the author of a *Stoma*.[5] He occurs, moreover, in two passages of the *Atharva Veda*.[6]

The *Gotamas* are mentioned in several passages of the *Ṛgveda*[7], *Vāmadeva and Nodhas* being specified as sons of *Gotama*. They include the *Vājaśravasas*.

2. *Gotamī-putra*

Gotamī-putra:[8] son of *Gotamī* is mentioned as a pupil of *Bhāradvājī-putra* in the *Kaṇva* recension of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. 5, 1).

---

1. Cf. Rv. I. 62, 1 ; 71, 2 ; 74, 5 ; 75, 2 ; 78, 3 ; IV. 2.5 ; 16, 8 etc.
2. Rv. 1.78.5. Cf. Olden berg, loc. cit., 236, n. I.
3. I. 4, 1, 10 et seq ; XI. 4, 3, 20. The former passage is wrongly cited by Sāyaṇa on Ṛv. I. 81, 3. see Weber ; Indische Studien, 2, 9, n.
4. XI. 4, 3, 20.
5. XIII. 5, 1, 1; Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, IX. 5, 6; 10, 8, etc.
6. IV. 29. 6 ; XVIII, 3, 16. See also Ṣaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa in Indische Studien, 1, 38 ; Bṛhaḍāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. II, 2, 6.
7. I. 60, 5 ; 61, 16 ; 63, 9 ; 77, 5 ; 78, 1 ; 88, 4 ; 92, 7 ; IV. 32, 9. 12 ; VIII, 88, 4. Cf. Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra XII. 10, Cf. Hudwig, Translation of the Ṛgveda, 3, 110, 123 ; Weber, Indische Studien, 1, 170, 180, Geldner, Vedische Studien, 3, 151, 152.
8. Vedic Index p. 235.

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3. *Gautama*

Gautama—descendent of *Gotama*, is a common patronymic, being applied to—

(a) *Aruṇa*[1]
(b) *Uddālaka Āruṇi*[2]
(c) *Kuśri*[3]
(d) *Sati*[4] *and*
(e) *Hāridrumata*[5]

It appears that all of them were in the lineage of *Gotama*. But, again, several *Gautamas* are mentioned in the *Vaṅśas* (lists of teachers) in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* as pupils of—

(a) *Agniveśya*[6]
(b) *Saitava*[7]
(c) *Prāchīna Yogya*[8]
(d) *Bhāradvāja*[9]
(e) *Gautama*[10]
(f) *Vatsya*[11]

---

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 6. 1. 4.
2. Ibid., XI. 4. 1. 3 ; 5. 1. 2. 2 ; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 1. 7 ;
   Chāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 3. 6 et seq. Kauśitakī Upaniṣad, I. I ;
   Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, I. 41. 1.
3. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 5. 5. 1.
4. Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa in Indische Studien, 4, 373.
5. Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV. 4. 3.
6. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 11, 6, 1 (Kaṇva).
7. Ibid. 11. 6. 2.
8. Ibid. IV. 6. 2.
9. Ibid. II. 6. 2. (Kaṇva 11. 5. 22 ; IV. 5. 27 Mādhyandina).
10. Ibid. II. 6. 3 ; IV. 6. 3 (Kaṇva 11. 5. 22 ; IV. 5. 28 Mādhyandina.)
11. Ibid ; II. 6. 3 ; IV. 6. 3 (Kaṇva II. 5. 20. 22 ; IV. 5. 26 Mādhyandina).

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In the present state of our knowledge, we are unable to determine their relationship.

The *Mādhyandina* (2. 5. 20) and (4. 5. 26) knows a *Gautama* as the pupil of *Vaijavapāyaṇa* and *Vaiṣṭhapureya*[1].

Aruṇa Aupaveśī Gautama is the full style of a teacher, who is repeatedly referred to in the later *Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas* and whose son was the famous *Uddālaka Āruṇī*. He was a pupil of *Upaveśa* and contemporary of the prince of *Aśvapati of Kaikeya* country (nowadays *Bannu* and *Harāt* districts) by whom he was instructed.

The *Vaṁśa-brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma Veda* ; also, enumerates four members of the *Gautama* family among the teachers who handed down the third Veda, *viz.*

(a) *Gātrī Gautama.*
(b) *Sumantra Bābhrava Gautama,*
(c) *Śaṁkara Gautama and*
(d) *Rādha Gautama*[2]

and the existing *Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras* frequently appeal to the opinions of a *Gautama* and of a *Sthavira Gautama*[3].

Gautama as an authority on questions of *Mīmāṇsā* ritual and philosophy, is repeatedly referred to by his patronymic name *Āruṇī* in the *Śatapatha Br. the Bṛhada Upa., the Chāndogya Upa.*, occasionally in the *Aitareya, the Kauśītakī and the Sadvinśa Br. as well as the Kauśītakī Upa.*

Gautama Hāridrumata

According to the *Chāndogya Upa.* he is cited as an authority in that Upanishad.

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1. *Vide* Vedic Index p. 240.
2. *Vide* Burnell, Vaṁśa-brāhmaṇa pp. 7, 9, 11 and 12.
3. *Vide* the Petersberg Dictionary S. V. Gautama ; Weber, Hist.
   Ind. Lit. p. 77 (English Ed.) Gobhil Gṛhya-Sūtra III. 10. 6.

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Other Gautamas

The *Mitākṣara, the Smṛti Candrika, Hemādrī, Mādhava* and other writers quote a *Śloka-Gautama*[1].

Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote *Vṛddha-Gautama* while the *Dattaka mimāṁsā (p. 72) quotes Vṛddha-Gautama and Bṛhad-Gautama* side by side in the same context.

Jīvānanda has published a *Smṛti of Vṛddh-Gautama* in 22 Chapters and 1700 verses (part II, pp. 497-636), where it is said that *Yudhiṣṭhira* asked *Kṛṣṇa* about the *"dharmas"* of the four castes. This *Smṛti* seems to have been originally taken from the *Āśvamedhika-parva of the Mahābhārata, as Mādhava* and others cite verses occurring in it as from that *parva*[2].

In 1953 the same *smṛti* was reprinted in Calcutta in a collection of *Smṛtis* called *Smṛti Sandarbha*[3].

We also find frequent references to *Gautama* in the later *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads* and *Śrauta Sūtras.* In *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 4, 3, 20), we find *Gautama* as a contemporary of *Janaka of Videha and Yājñavalkya* and as the author of a *Stoma.*

(a) Gautama in later Samhitas.

1. Taittirīya Saṁhitā—VI 1. 9. 2 ; 4. 5. 1.
2. Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā—1. 4. 10; III. 6. 4. 6 ; 7. 4; 8. 6 ; 10. 5.
3. Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā—XXVI. 10.

(b) Gautama in Brāhmaṇas

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—1. 4 ; 1. 10 ; 11. 2. 2. 20 (Kaṇva)—I, 1, 2, 11, II, 2, 1, 34 ; III, 3, 4, 19, IV, 4, 8, 9 ; XI, 2, 9, 12 ;

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1. *Vide* Parāśara-Mādhavīya, Vol. I. part I. p. 7.
2. *Vide* Parāśara-Mādhavīya Vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110.
3. *Vide* Smṛti Sandarbha part IV. pp. 1919-2083. 5 Clive Row Calcutta.

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13, 5, 3, 1 ; X, 6, 1, 4 ; XI, 4, 1, 3 ; 5, 1, 2 ; XI, 4, 1, 4 ; 5, 3. 2.

X, 5, 5, 1 ; X, 6. 1. 2 ; XI, 5, 3, 2.

2. Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa—1. 38 ; 1, 6.
3. Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa in Indische Studien 4, 373, 384.
4. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—11, 1, 5. 11.
5. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—VIII, 7. 8.
6. Kauśītakī Brāhmaṇa XXVI, 4.
7. Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa XIII, 12, 8.
8. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa

   सुब्रह्मण्य मेघातिथेः मैषेति जै० ब्रा० २.७८

9. Kauśika Brāhmaṇa

   गौतमः ब्रुवाणः "कौशिक ब्राह्मण"

(c) Gautama in Upaniṣads

1. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad :—

   ii, 2, 6 ; VI, 1. 7 ; ii, 6. 1. (Kaṇva)
   ii, 6, 2 ; IV, 6, 2 ; ii, 6, 2 (Kaṇva)
   ii, 5, 22 : IV, 5, 27 ; Mādhyaṁdina.
   ii, 6, 3 ; IV, 6. 3 (Kaṇva ii, 5. 22 ; IV, 5, 28 Mādh.)
   Vi, 5, 3 in both recensions.
   iii, 5, 1 ; IV, 1, 4 (Mādh. IV, i, 6 ; VI, 3, 19, 6, 3, 12).

2. Chāndogya Upaniṣad :—

   V, 3 ; 6 et seq ; IV, 4, 3, iii, 11. 4 ; V, 11, 2 ; 17, 1 ; VI, 8, 1 ; IV, 4, 1 et seq. IV, 5, 1 ; 6, 2 ; 7, 2 ; 8, 2 ; 9, 10 ; 10, 1 ; V, 2. 3.

3. Kauśītakī Upaniṣad :—

   i, I, Et. seq.

4. Jaiminīya Upaniṣad ;—

   i, 42, 1.

(d) Gautama in Śrauta Sūtras

(i) Āśvalāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra—
XIII. 5. 1. 1 ; IX 5. 6 ; 10. 8. etc.

(ii) XII, 10 Vāmadeva and Nodhas being specified as sons of Gotamas.

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Gautama in the lineage of Aṅgirā

There are six well-known *Gautama*-families in[1] the lineage of *Aṅgirā* as given in the *Gotra Pravras* :—

(1) अयास्य गौतम
(2) शरद्वन्त गौतम
(3) कौमण्ड गौतम
(4) दीर्घतमा = अंगिरस गौतम
(5) औशनस गौतम
(6) कारेणपाल गौतम

Further, we find a reference to one more *Gautama i.e., Medhā-tithi Gautama in Jaimini Brāhmaṇa*[2] and in *Mahābhārata*[3] *Śānti parva* chapter 272 (Poona Ed. Ch. 258). He also comes from the family of *Aṅgirās*. He had a son named *Cirkari*[4]. There are many stories connected with his name in the same *Parva* (2. 58-65).

Medhātithi Gautama was also known to *Bhāsa*[5] as the author of a *Nyāya Śāstra*.

Our *Gautama* who composed the *Dharma Sūtras*, must be one of these illustrious teachers. He was the follower of the *Sāma Veda*.

4. Gautamī-putra

Gautamī-putra (son of a female descendant of *Gotama*) is mentioned in the *Kaṇva* recension of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*

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1. *Vide* Pargiter p. 222, note 13.
2. जै० ब्रा० २।७८
   सु-ब्रह्मण्य मेधातिथे मेषेति ।
3. दीर्घः कालो व्यतिक्रान्तस्ततो स्याम्यागमत् पिता ॥४४॥ (पूना० ४१)
   मेधातिथिर्महाप्राज्ञो गौतमस्तपसि स्थितः ॥४५॥ (पूना ४२)
4. महाभारत शान्तिपर्व अ० २६७ ।
5. भास—प्रतिमा—नाटके
   रावण-वचनम्—सांगोपांगं वेदमधीये ।
   मेधातिथे र्न्यायशास्त्रम् ।

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Upaniṣad (vi, 5. 2) as a pupil of *Bhāradvājī-putra*. In the *Mādhyaṁdina* (vi, 4, 31) a *Gautamī-putra* is a pupil of *Ātreyī-putra*, pupil of a *Gautamī-putra, putra of Vātsī-putra.*

1. Ancient references to treatises ascribed to Gautama.

(a) Gautama as a Grammarian is mentioned in *Taittirīya*[1], *Maitrāyaṇīya Prāti-Śākhya*[2] and *Mahābhāṣya.*[3] Being anterior to *Pāṇini*, he is probably the same *Āchārya* who wrote the *Gṛhya Sūtra* and *Dharma Sūtra*. A treatise on Phonetics entitled "*Gautamī-Śikṣā* is also extant and is printed in the *Sikṣa Saṁgraha* of Benaras.

(b) Gautama as the Āchārya of Āyurveda :—

Pt. Bhagavad Datta[4] writes about a sage *Gautama* who was a great scholar and a master of *Āyurveda.*

(i) In *Caraka Saṁhitā,*[5] a *Gautama* is quoted as describing the properties of the *Katutumba viz.* :—

कटुतुम्बममन्यतोत्तमं वमने दोष-समीरणं च तत् ।
तदवृष्यमशैत्य-तीक्ष्णता-कटुरोक्ष्यादिति गौतमोऽब्रवीत् ॥६॥

(ii) In *Aṣtānga Saṁgraha,* too, the opinion of *Gautama* is given.[6]

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1. प्रथम पूर्वो हकारश्चतुर्थं तस्य संस्थान प्लाक्षि ।
कौंडिण्य गौतमपौष्करसादीनाम् ॥
तैतिरीय प्रातिशाख्य ५।३८

2. मैत्रायणीय प्रातिशाख्य ५।४०

3. आपिशल पाणिनीय व्याडीयगौतमीयाः ।
महाभाष्य ६।२।३६

4. भारतवर्ष का इतिहास पृ० ११३

5. चरक संहिता, सिद्धस्थान अ० ११

6. अष्टांग संग्रह, निदान स्थान अ० २ चतूरात्रेऽष्टरात्रे वा क्षेममित्याह गौतमः ।

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(iii) *Gautama* is also quoted in *Arśonidāna*[1] commentary on *Mādhava Nidāna.*

(c) Gautama as the writer of Nyāya Śāstra is too, well known to require mention.[2]

(d) *Gautama* as an authority on cattle-breeding is mentioned in the *Artha Śāstra.*[3]

(e) *Gautama* as the author of *Pitṛmedha Sūtra* :—

Dr. Burnell has discovered a *Pitṛmedha Sūtra,* which is ascribed to a teacher of the *Sāmaveda,* called *Gautama.* It is edited by *Dr. W. Caland* in Leipzig in 1896 with critical notes.

(f) Gautama, as a Law-giver was the author of *Dharma Sūtra* like *Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba.* He belonged to the school of *Sāmans.*

As a supplement to his *Dharma Sūtra, Gautama* wrote a *Pariśiṣṭha* also, which has been published in two parts at separate places. The first, called the "*Kriyā Kāṇda*" was printed in 18 chapters in the Mysore Edition, edited by *L. Śṛinivāsācārya* in 1917. A Telugu Edition of it was also printed in Madras in 1927.

The second part called *Praśna* was printed in 1948 by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Adyar Library, Madras. It treats the *Prāyaścitta* in greater detail. It is divided into 20 sections and contains 500 *Sūtras.*

(g) Gautama Śrauta Sūtra

According to the prevalent practice of those times *Gautama* must have written "*Śrauta*" and "*Grhya*" *Sūtras,*

---

1. अर्शोनिदान श्लोक ३३, ३४. यदाह गौतमः—
   श्लेष्मा पंचविधोरस्थः श्लेष्मकादि स्म कर्मणा ।
   कफधाम्नांच सर्वेषां यत्करोत्यवलम्बनम् ॥ अवलम्बकम् ॥
2. न्यायतन्त्रं हि कार्त्स्न्येन गौतमो वेदतत्वतः ।
   महाभारत शा० प० २।२।३४
3. गणपति-कृत व्याख्या—अर्थशास्त्र पृ० ३२ ।
   गौतममुनिकृत पाशुपाल्यशास्त्रम् ।

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too, which, unfortunately, have been lost. This is confirmed by the following references found in some of the *Kalpasūtras*. The context shows that these references must be to the *Kalpa Sūtras of Gautama.*

(क) व्याहृतीरुक्त्वा ब्रह्मणो हिंकारे जुहुयात्, इति गौतमः ॥२१।३॥

(ख) अत्रो ह स्माह गौतमो, गृहपतिरेव प्रथममरण्योः समारोपयेत् इतरे सत्र इति ॥२३।१९॥

अत्रो ह स्माह गौतमो, गृहपतिरेवारण्योः समारोपयेत् तत इतर इति ॥२३।१९॥ बौधायन ॥

चतुरष्टको हेमन्तः ॥३॥

ताः सर्वाः समां साश्चिकीर्षेत् ।

इति कौत्सः ॥४॥

त्र्यष्टक इति—औद्गाहमानिः ॥५॥

तथा गौतम वार्क खण्डी ॥६॥ गोभिल गृह्य ।

On these *Sūtras* there is a *Kārikā* of *Kātyāyana* in *Karma Pradīpa* (2.27).

अन्वेष्टव्यं मध्यमायामिति गोभिल गौतमो,

वार्कखंडिश्च सर्वासु कौत्सो मेनेऽष्टकासु च ॥२४॥२।७।२४५

which also gives the opinion of *Gautama.*

2. Relation with the Sāma Veda

(a) *Gautama* has borrowed the entire 26th Chapter from the *Sāmavidhāna*, one of the eight *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda.*

The agreement of the two texts is complete, except in the *Mantras* (*Sūtra 12*) where invocations of several deities which are not usually found in the *Vedic* writings, have been introduced.

Secondly, in the enumeration of the purificatory texts XIX.12 *Gautama* shows a marked partiality for the *Sāma Veda.*

Thirdly, in two passages, 1.52 and 25.8 the *Dharma Sūtra* prescribes the employment of five *Vyāhṛtis* and says

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in the former *Sūtra*, that the last *Vyāhṛti* is *Satyam*. Now, in most Vedic works only, three *Vyāhṛtis Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ* are mentioned ; sometimes, rarely ; four or seven occur. But in the *Vyāhṛti Sāman*, as *Hardatta* points out (1.52 note) five such interjections are used and *Satyam* is used among them. It, therefore, leaves no doubt that in the above mentioned passages, *Gautama* has directly borrowed from the *Sāma Vidhāna*, and that he was a *Sāma Vedin*.

(b) The *Tantra Vārtika* of *Kumārila* tells us that *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* and *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* were studied by the *Chāndogas* (*Sāma Vedins*), *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra* by the *Ṛgvedins*, *the Dharma Sūtra of Śankhalikhita* by the followers of *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā* and the *Sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana* by the followers of the *Taittirīya Śākha*[1].

(c) The Commentary on the *Carṇavyūha* tells us that *Gautama* was one of the nine sub-divisions of the *Rānāyaṇīya* school of the *Sāma Veda*.

(d) A teacher *Gautama* is mentioned frequently in the *Lātyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra* (*e.g.* 1, 3, 3, and 1, 4, 17) and in the *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra* (*e.g.* 1, 4, 17; 9, 3, 15) of the *Sāma Veda*. The *Gobhila Gṛhya* (III, 10, 6) which belongs to the *Sāma Veda* cites *Gautama* as an authority.

These indications show the close connection of the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* with the *Sāma Veda*.

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(1) तन्त्रवार्तिक पृ० १७६ पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्त गौतम-वसिष्ठ-शंख-लिखित-हारीतापस्तम्ब-बौधायनादि-प्रणीत-धर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्य-ग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत्प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते । तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये छन्दोगैरेव परिगृहीयते । वसिष्ठं बह्वृचैरेव शंख-लिखितो च वाजसनेयिभिः । आपस्तम्ब-बौधायनीये तैतिरीयैरेवप्रति-पन्ने । एवं तत्र तत्र गृह्यव्यवस्थाप्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम् किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणान्युत सर्वेषाम् । (पू० मी० सू० १. ३. ११)

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Literature known to Gautama

From the study of the *Dharma Śutras of Gautama*, we find that the author was a very learned man and was familiar with the whole of the vast Vedic literature.

Besides the *Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas*, he mentions the following works—*Upaniṣads* (19.13), *the Vedāṅgas* (8.5 and 11.19), *Itihāsa* (8.6), *Purāṇa* (8.6 and 11.19), *Upaveda* (11.9), *Dharmaśāstra* (11.19).

That he borrows a chapter from the *Sāma-Vidhāna-Brāhmaṇa* has been mentioned above. He has also taken six *Sūtras* from 25th chapter of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (11.18).

The *Śramaṇaka* (in *Gautama* III.26) is, according to *Haradatta*, the *Vaikhānasa-Śāstra* either composed by some *Vikhānasa* or treating the duties of hermits).

Gautama refers to *Āṇvīkṣikī* (XI.3).

The only teacher of *Dharma* he quotes by name is "*Manu*" (in 21.7), who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of "*brahma-hatyā*", drinking wine and violation of the bed of the guru. *Haradatta* says that in the extant *Manusmṛti* the same propositions are laid down about "*brahmahatyā*" and "*surāpāna*" (in *Manu* 11.89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of "*Guru-talpa*" a passage from the *Manusmṛti* has to be traced out. Such a passage is not found there. From this *Bühler* drew the conclusion that *Gautama* refers to the *Dharma Sūtra* attributed to *Manu* (and not to any versified *Manusmṛti*). But *Bühler* is not right in drawing this inference. Besides, there are verses in the extant *Manusmṛti* (XI. 104, 105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the guru's bed.

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Except *Manu* no other teacher is referred to by name by *Gautama* and the different views are quoted, with remarks like इत्येके[1] इत्याचार्यः[2] etc.

What teachers are meant by the word "*Ācāryaḥ*" (which occurs in the *Nirukta*, *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* and various other works), it is difficult to say, probably, the word is used to signify "the general traditional view of most writers in that particular *Śāstra* on a particular point."

But this shows that *Gautama* was preceded by a great literary activity in the sphere of *Dharma Śāstra*.

His knowledge of *Yāska's Nirukta* may be inferred from his etymology of '*daṇḍa*' which closely resembles that of *Yāska*.[3]

4. The Source of *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*.

वेदो धर्म मूलम् । गौ १।१
तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले । गौ० १।२
वेदो अखिलो धर्ममूलम् । मनु० २।६
स्मृतिशीले तद्विदाम् ॥ मनु० २।६

(a) A close affinity between *Sūtras* and the *Manu Smṛti* is apparent.

(b) भोजयेत्पूर्वमतिथि-कुमार-व्याधितगर्भिणीषु वासिनीस्थविरान् जघन्यांश्च ॥ गौ० ५।२६ ॥
सुवासिनीः कुमारीश्च, रोगिणी गर्भिणीः स्त्रियः ।
अतिथिभ्यो अग्र एवैतान् भोजयेदविचारयन् ॥ मनु० ३।११४ ॥

These extracts also show a marked resemblance between the two works, except that the more elaborate statement of the *Manu Smṛti* is compressed in the *Sūtra*.

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1. गौतम धर्म सूत्र—२. १५, ४१, ५८; ३. १; ४. १५; ७. २३.
2. गौ० ध० सू० ३. ३५; ४. १८.
3. दण्डो दमनादित्याहुस्तेनादान्तान्दमयेत् । The "निरुक्त" has दण्डो ददते···दमनादित्योपमन्यवः । "निरुक्त" II. ३.

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(c) Reference to *Manu* (G. 19.7) by name is clearly indicative of the fact that he had a high regard for him, and that he chose him as an authority and a source for his work.

(d) *Maskarin* in his commentary on *G.D. Sūtra* cites 315 verses from "*Manu*" in support of his explanation, as against very few citations from other works. This clearly indicates that *Maskarin* found greater resemblance of the *Sūtras* with *Manu's* work, than with that of any other law-giver.

In addition to *Maskarin's* citations, I have also traced more than 500 correspondences between the *Sūtras* and the verses of *Manu Smṛti* which I have given in the foot-notes of the text of *Gautama Dharma Sūtra.*[1]

(e) Further, there is a remark by *Maskarin* which is very significant. In his explanation on *G.D. Sūtra* 1.51 (1)[2] he first explains the word आम्नाय as आम्नायो वेदः. Now Veda is called आम्नाय because it is the source of all knowledge. Then he says "आम्नायशब्देन मनु रुच्यते".

In view of this remark it becomes highly significant in as much as, according to him, *Manu* was *Gautama's* ultimate source of inspiration in the domain of law.

5. Relation with other works of law.

The arguments which allow us to place *Gautama* earlier than both *Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha* are, that both these authors quote *Gautama* as an authority on law, and that *Baudhāyana* has transferred the whole chapter of the *Dharma Sāstra* to his work, which *Vasiṣṭha* again has borrowed from him.

As regards the case of *Baudhāyana,* his references to *Gautama* are *two,* one of which can be traced in our *Dharma Śāstra.* In the discussion on the peculiar customs

1. In Press.
2. यत्र चाम्नायो विदध्यात् । गौ० १।५१.

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prevailing in the South and in the North of India, *Baudhāyana* (1.2, 1.8) expresses himself as follows :—

(a) There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the South and in the North.

(b) We shall explain those (peculiar) to the South.

(c) They are :—to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.

(d) Now (the peculiar customs) to the North are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and to go to sea.

(e) He who follows (these practices) in (any) other country than the one where they prevail, commits sin.

(f) For each of these practices (the rule of) the country should be (considered) the authority.

(g) *Gautama* declares that this is false.

(h) And one should not heed either (set of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of those learned (in the sacred law).

पंचधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः ॥१॥
यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ॥२॥
यथैतदनुपैतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुल-पितृष्वसृ दुहितृ गमनमिति ॥३॥
अथोत्तरत ऊर्णाविक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदभिर्व्यवहार आयुधीयकं समुद्र-यानमिति ॥४॥ इतरदितरस्मिन् कुर्वन्दूष्यति ॥५॥
तत्रतत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ॥६॥ मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः ॥७॥
उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोध दर्शनात् ॥८॥

From this passage it appears that the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, known to *Baudhāyana* expressed an opinion adverse to the authoritativeness of local customs which might be

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opposed to the tradition of the *Śiṣtas, i.e.*, of those who really deserve to be called learned in the law.

The statement of our *Gautama* (21. 20), too, by implication, means the same thing about custcmary laws that are opposed to the practices of the *Śiṣtas.*

Further, *Baudhāyana* has borrowed the whole of the 19th chapter of our *G. Dharam Sāstra* (with V.1) which forms the introduction to the section on penances and expiation.[1]

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(1) Baudhāyana's various readings are the following :—

गौ० १९, १ =बौधा० III, १०, १ वर्णधर्मश्चा०

गौ० १९, २ =बौधा० III, १०, २; कर्मणा मिथ्या वाचात्याज्यं वा योजयत्य-प्रतिग्राह्यस्य वा प्रतिगृह्य णात्यनाश्यान्नेस्य वान्नमश्नात्यचरणीयेन वाचरति ।

गौ० १९, ४ =त्यक्तम् । गौ० १९, ६ = बौधा० III, १०, ५ कुर्या-दित्येव ।

गौ० १९, ७ =बौधा० III, १०, ६ पुनस्तोमेन यजेत; विज्ञायते त्यक्तम् ।

गौ० १९, ८ =त्यक्तम् ।

गौ० १९, ९ =बौधा० III, १०, ७ अथाप्युदाहरन्ति तरति ।

गौ० १९, १०=बौधा० III, १०, ८ नो यजेत

गौ० १९, १२=बौधा० III, १०, १० वेदादयो वेदान्ताः; कूष्माण्ड्यः ।

गौ० १९, १३=बौधा० III, १०, ११ उपसन्यायेन पयोव्रतता ।

गौ० १९, १४=बौधा० III, १०, १२ ऋषि निकेतनानि : गोष्ठक्षेत्र-परि० ।

गौ० १९, १५=बौधा० III, १०, १३ अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं सवनोपस्पर्शन-गुरुशुश्रूषणं ब्रह्मचर्यमधः शयनमेकवस्त्रताना० गौ० १९, १७= बौधा० III, १०, १५ त्रयहोरात्रमेकाहः इति कालाः ।

गौ० १९, १ बौधा०, III १०, १६ विकल्पेन त्यक्तम् ।

गौ० १९, २०=बौधा० III, १०, १८ सर्वप्रायश्चितिः ।

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Baudhāyana's treatment of the subject of penances is very unmethodical. He devotes to them the following sections :—

II. 1-2 ; II. 2, 3. 48-53 ; II. 2-4 ; III. 5-10 and the greater part of *Praśna* IV.

According to *Baudh*, (II. 2. 4. 16), a *Brāhmaṇa* who is unable to maintain himself by teaching, sacrificing and receiving gifts may follow the profession of a *Kṣatṛya*.[1]

Priority of *Gautama* is clearly acknowledged by *Budhāyana* when at one place he says that *Gautama* holds a contrary opinion to his own.

Reference in *Āpastamba Dh-Sūtra* (II. 6. 15. 25) to a *Smrti* forbidding the right of '*homa*' to an uninitiated child is evidently to the *Dharma Śāstra* of our *Gautama* (cf. II. 1-3).

The *Vasiṣṭha Dh. Sūtra* also quotes the views of *Gautama* at two places (4.34 and 36—impurity on death). The first refers to *Gautama* 4.41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant text.

Again, chapter 22 of *Vasiṣṭha* is borrowed from the *G. D. Sūtra* Chapter 19. Besides, there are many sūtras of *Vasiṣṭha* which are almost taken "*verbatim*" from *Gautama*.[2]

Yājñavalkya (1, 5) speaks of *Gautama* as one of the authors of *Dharma Śastras*.

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1. बौधायन धर्म सूत्र २. २. ४. १६. नेति गौतमोऽत्युग्रो हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

2.

Gaut. 3.31-33	and	Vas. 9.1-3
Gaut. 3.26	and	Vas. 9.10
Gaut. 1.44	and	Vas. 3.48
Gaut. 1.28	and	Vas. 3.49
Gaut. 14.5-7	and	Vas. 4.24-26

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Aparārka not only gives a verse from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* which speaks of *Gautama's* prohibition about drinking,[1] but also quotes as many as 265 *Sūtras of Gautama.*

Similarly, *Kullūka* (on *Manu* XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same *Purāṇa* which refers to *Gautama* (23.2).

Kumārila in his *Tantarvārtika* quotes over a dozen *Sūtras of Gautama.*[2]

Gautama 11.29 and 12.4 are quoted by *Śaṁkara* in his *Bhāṣya on Vedānta Sūtra* 3.1.8 and 1.3.38 respectively,

In *Mitākṣara* 149 and *Viśvarūpa* in his commentary "*Bāla Krīdā*" on *Yājñavalkya* quotes 10 *Sūtras* of *Gautama.*[3]

In his *Bhāṣya* on *Manu, Medhā Tithi* quotes *Gautama* more frequently than anybody else. He quotes 102 *Sūtras* of *Gautama.*[4]

In the *Kṛtya Kalpa Taru of Lakṣmī Dhara* 553 *Sūtras of G.D. Sūtra* are quoted.[5]

Kṛtya Ratnākara of Caṇdeśvara quotes 123 *Sūtras of Gautama.*[6]

Lastly, we find 19 *Sūtras* of Gautama in the *Sarasvati Vilāsa of Shri Pratāpa Rudra Mahādeva.* Besides, 22 other quotations are attributed to *Gautama,* but are not found in any MS. or printed text.[7]

The entire mass of evidence given above shows that *Gautama* was widely read and was held in great esteem as

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1. प्रतिषेधः सुरापाने मद्यस्य च नराधिपा। द्विजोत्तमानामिवोक्तः सततं गौतमादिभिः। भविष्यत् पुराण quoted by अपरार्क पृ० १०७६
2. Vide JBBRAS Vol. I. (New series) for 1925, pp. 66-67.
3. Vide Revised Ed. p. 506.
4. Vide Revised Ed. pp. 501-503.
5. Vide Revised Ed. pp. 496 to 501.
6. Vide Revised Ed. p. 507.
7. Vide Revised Ed. pp. 508-509.

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an authority on *Dharma*. Of the total number of his *1016 Sūtras* as many as *747 find* place as quotations in the above mentioned works. Some of these *Sūtras* occur more than once in the same work or are quoted in several different works.

6. Different Editions of *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*.

(a) *London Edition*

The Dharma Sūtra of Gautama has been printed and published several times at different places.

In 1876, it was printed in *London*. The text was edited by *Dr. A. F. Stenzler* for the Sanskrita Text Society.

In 1879, the same text was translated by *George Bühler*, with an introduction, and was published in the sacred books of the East Series Vol. Second, Oxford. It has 28 chapters and contains 1000 *Sūtras* only.

(b) *Three Calcutta Editions*

Two other editions were published in *Calcutta*—one was by *Shri Jīvananda* (1876) and the other by *Shri M. N. Datta* (1908). Both of these editions had an additional chapter on *Karam-vipāka* after Chapter 19.

My MS. D 1200 also contains it and it is also found in II. MS. preserved in the *Adyar Library* as stated by Shri A. N. Krishna Aiyangar in his introduction to the *Gaut. Dh. Sūtra Pariśiṣṭa* (2nd *Praśna*), printed for the first time in *Madras* in 1948.

Mysore and *Poona* Editions of the *G.D.S.* omit this chapter. It is interesting to note that out of 31 *Sūtras* of this chapter as many as 18[1] are quoted in the 2nd *Praśna* of the *Pariśiṣṭa*.

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1. The remaining 13 *Sūtras* are given below :—

हिरण्यहारी दुर्वरी ॥७॥ त्रपुचामरसीसविक्रयी मद्यपः ॥१७॥ एक-शफविक्रयी मृगव्याधः ॥१८॥ नाक्षत्री चार्बुदी ॥२०॥ नास्तिको रंगोप-

[*Continued on next page*

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There is another *Calcutta* edition, recently printed in 1953 in a collection of *Smṛtis-called "Smṛti-Sandarbha"*, part IV, pp. 1879-1918.

(c) *Poona Edition*

The *Ānandāśrama* Edition of *Poona*, printed in 1910 was faulty and was reprinted in 1931. It contains the commentary of *Haradatta*, called *Mitākṣara*.

It has only 991 Sūtras, divided into three *Praśnas* and 28 *Adyāyas*. It is based on 7 MSS and gives very few variants here and there. A Telugu reprint of it is also available.

(d) *Mysore Edition*

With the commentary of Maskarī, there is another edition published in the Government Oriental Library Series, *Mysore*, 1917. It was edited by *L. Śrīnivāsācārya*. The Editor has used ten MSS, but has given only 14 variants in a text of 539 pages. This edition has 28 chapters and 1016 *Sūtras*. The text is faulty and is full of errors and misprints. It is unfortunate that such an important work should have been printed so carelessly. There are 96 errors in the *Sūtras* and 734 mistakes in the commentary.

The editor has given a word-index at the end, but that, too, is full of mistakes, containing 379 incorrect references.

Continued from previous page

जीवी ॥२१॥ ब्रह्मपुरुषतस्कराणां देशिकः पिण्डहरः ॥२३॥ षण्डोमहा-पथिकः ॥२४॥ मध्वामेही हि धर्म-पत्नीषुस्थान मैथुन प्रवर्तकः ॥२६॥ खर्वाटः सगोत्र समवयः स्त्रयभिगामी ॥२७॥ श्रीमती-मातृभगिनी भ्रातृ-भगिनीष्वभिगम्याबीजिनः ॥२८॥ शैलूषतस्करपरपुरुषप्रेष्यपरकर्मकराः खल्वाटनक्तंचरा नृशंससंकीर्ण-कूट कर्माणः

तेषां कुब्ज झुण्डमुण्ड व्याधित-व्यंग दरिद्रात्यायुषोऽल्पबुद्धयः शठपण्ड—क्रमतश्चान्त्याश्चापपद्यन्ते ॥२९॥

तस्मात्कर्तव्यमेवेह प्रायश्चितम् ॥३०॥

विशुद्धैर्लक्षणै र्जायन्ते धर्मस्य धारणादिति धर्मस्य धारणादिति ॥३१॥]

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The index almost entirely consists of compounds under 3030 items, but even then 351 words have been left out of the total number of 6743 words of the Gautama Dharma Sūtra.

I have prepared a new index, giving all the words and have rectified all the mistakes and omissions.[1]

A glaring instance of careless editing is the omission of the fourth quarter of the benedictory *Anuṣṭuba* of the commentary, notwithstanding the use of six MSS. One fails to understand how all the six MSS. could have omitted that line.

In my text.[2] I have collated 18 printed texts and two MSS. One of the MSS. No. D. 1200 contains only the text but the other No. D. 15267 has the commentary of *Maskarin*. By comparing this commentary with the *Mysore* edition, I have discovered 312 omissions and 372 additional passages. In the foot notes, I have given as many as 993 variants.

Another important omission of the *Mysore* edition that detracts from its value as a critical and scientific work is that none of the quotations (which number over 2000) given by *Maskarin* in his commentary has been traced to its original source. I have, however, succeeded in tracing at least 1524 so far. In addition to these, I have traced 227 cross-references to the *Sūtras of Gautama* himself.

It is interesting to note that the discrepancy in the total number of *Sūtras* between different editions is not due to additions or omissions in the text, but is caused by the splitting of the text differently in different editions.

7. Commentators of Gautama Dharma Sūtra.

(*a*) *Haradatta*

Haradatta is one of those commentators of repute whose commentaries can be called excellent models of ideal

1. In Press (Revised Edition).
2. In Press (Revised Edition).

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commentaries. He has written commentaries on the *Āpastambīya Mantra-Pāṭha*,[1] the *Gṛhya Sūtras of Āpastamba*[2] *and Āśvalāyana*[3] called *Anāvilā* and the *Dharma Sūtras of Āpastamba* (*named Ujjvalā*) and *Gautama* (*called Mitākṣarā*). The last one is printed in the *Ānandāśrama Series, Poona* and is more concise than that on the *Dharma Sūtras of Āpastamba*. From the references found in his works it appears that he was either a resident of Southern India or was, at least, familiar with the customs and usages in the South.

Prof. Kāne[4] believes that he could not have lived later than A.D. 1300. He places him between 1100-1300 A.D.[5]

(*b*) *Bhartṛyajña*

Bhartṛyajña is one of the ancient commentators of the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, whose commentary is not available, but numerous references to him are found in the writings of his successors.

Besides his *bhāṣya on G. D. Sūtra*[6] he is said to have written the following commentaries also :—

(i) *A bhāṣya on Mānava Dh. Śāstra.*
(ii) *A bhāṣya on Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra.*
(iii) *A bhāṣya on Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*

Of these, only one MS. of the first chapter of the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra-bhāṣya* is preserved in the *Baroda Library* (Acc. No. 11954 Book No. 28 of 1577), and its 3rd Chapter is preserved in Alwar (No. 131).

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1. Vide Dr. Winternitz's ed. of 1897, p. XIII.
2. Vide D.C. MS. No. 2 of 1866-68.
3. Hist. of Dh. Śāstra Vol. I, page 347 by Prof. P. V. Kāne.
4. Hist. of Dh. Śāstra Vol. I, page 347 by Prof. P.V. Kāne.
5. Ibid. page 350.
6. Vide Mokṣa Kāṇḍa, p. 49 of Kṛtya Kalpa Taru of Lakṣmīdhara, Gaekwad Series इति भर्तृयज्ञासहायमस्करिणः ।

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(iv) But the *Kātyāyana Grhya Sūtra-bhāṣya* is included in the MS. Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and also in Baroda (No. 10604).

(v) A bhāṣya on the *Yājñavalkya Smrti*.[1]

As regards the existence of *Bhartṛyajna* and his works, we have the following external evidence :--

(i) *Lakṣmidhara* enumerates *Bhartṛyajña* as one of the commentators on *G.D.S.* along with *Asahāya* and *Maskarin* in the *Mokṣa Kāṇḍa* of his *Krtya Kalpa Taru* (p. 49). इति भर्तृयज्ञासहायमस्करिण: ।

(ii) *Medhātithi* in his commentary on *Manu Smrti* (8.3)[2] refers to *Bhartṛyajña* for other explanations of the passage under discussion.

(iii) *Tri Kāṇḍa Maṇḍana* (C. 1100 A.D.) in his *Āpastamba Śrauta-Dhvanitārtha-Kārikā* (1.41)[3] refers to *Bhartṛyajña's* views.

(iv) *Anantācārya* (*Ananta Deva, Ananta Bhatta*) in his commentary speaks of a lost *bhāṣya of Bhartṛyajña Kātyāyana Srauta Śūtra.*

(v) From *Gadadhara's* comments on *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra* it appears that *Bhartṛyajña,* too, had written a commentary on *Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra.*[4]

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1. Vide Niyat Kalā Kāṇḍa p. 526 of Krtya Kalpa Taru of Lakṣmīdhara.
2. व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक् कृतानि इति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाण-मूलानि ।
3. यदाध्ययनसंसिद्धविज्ञान रहितोऽपि सन् । नातीवाधिक्रियाशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादि दर्शनात् । त्रिकाण्डमण्डनम् (बी० आई० सीरीज)
4. पारस्कर गृह्ये (१. १. २.)
"एते पंच मूसंस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये अग्न्यार्था इति कर्कोपाध्याया:"
पारस्करे (१. २. १.)

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(vi) In his *Gṛhastha Ratnākara Caṇḍeśvara* quotes *Bhartṛyajña's* explanation of the word "*Saṁvibhāga*" occurring in G.D.S. (10.39).[1]

(vii) He also gives *Bhartṛyajña's* explanation of the word *Jātasya*[2] occurring in a verse of *Āitareye Brāhmṇa.*

(ṛnam-asmin Saṁ-Nayati) ऋणमस्मिन् सन्नयति ।

Another quotation (the same as quoted in *Brahmacārī-Kāṇḍa of Kṛtya Kalpa Taru*) is found on p. 471 of *Gṛhastha Ratnākara.*

(viii) The *Nityācārya Pradipa* (B.I. Series) after quoting G.D.S. (11.29)[3] cites the comment of *Bhartṛyajña*[4] on the word *tacchaṣeṇa.*

Date of Bhartṛyajña

(i) "Since *Bhartṛyajña* is quoted by *Medhātithi* who also mentions *Asahāya* but not *Viśvarūpa*, it follows that *Bhartṛyajña* must have flourished before 800 A.D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than *Asahāya.*[5]

(ii) From *Lakṣmidhara's* quotation given above, it is quite plausible that he mentions the commentators in a chronological order. This also corroborates the above conclusion. *Haradatta* is not mentioned in the quotation, thus it

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भर्तृयज्ञस्य भाष्यं "दारकाले शब्दे उद्धृतम् । सूत्रे—
केश-संमितो ब्राह्मणस्य—(पारस्कर II, ५ २८)
गदाधरः कथयतिः—इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रत्वेन हरिहरभाष्ये तिष्ठति,
भर्तृयज्ञ-कर्कादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यते ।"]

1. संविभागो भर्तृदाय इति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थरत्नाकरः Folio 78*a* of D.C. MS. No. 44of 1883-84.
2. अत्र जातस्येति ऋणपाकरणयोग्यस्येति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थ रत्नाकरः Folio 133*a*.
3. अत्र तच्छेषेण इति तस्यैव नित्याचार कर्मणः शेषेणेति भर्तृयज्ञः । नित्याचार प्रदीप पृ० १२ ।
4. *Vide* P. V. Kane's History of Dharma Śāstra Vol. I, p 252).
5. पी० वी० काने—धर्मशास्त्रस्य इतिहासे पृ० २५१

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appears that he was the last commentator who lived after the time of Lakṣmīdhara.[1]

Besides, we have the following other references to *Bhartṛyajña* in the same work,[2] in different Kāṇḍas.

(c) *Asahāya*

(1) "Dr. Jolly in his edition of the *Nārada Smṛti* (B.I. series)" writes : *Śrī P.V. Kāne* on page 247 of his History of *Dharma Śastra*, "has incorporated a portion of the *Bhāṣya of Asahāya* as revised by *Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa*. The exact relation of *Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa's* labours to the original *bhāṣya* cannot be accurately gauged from the opening[3] words finding that the *Nārada Bhāṣya* composed by *Asahāya* was spoilt (*bhraṣṭa*) by bad scribes, *Kalyāṇa* composes this after revising the ancient one. The Colophon at the end of the first chapter of the *Vyavahāra-Mātṛkā* says that *Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa* revised the *Bhāṣya of Asahāya* at the encouragement of *Keśavabhaṭṭa*[4]."

(ii) "*Viśvarūpa*, in commenting on *Yāj.* III. 263-64 mentioned *Aashāya* by name and cites his explanation of a *Sūtra of Gautama* (22.13)."

(iii) The *Hāralatā of Aniruddha* who was the *Guru* of king *Ballālasena* of Bengal, the author of *Adbhuta Sāgara*

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1. मोक्षकाण्डः—पृ० ४१ । कृत्य कल्पतरु इति भर्तृयज्ञासहायमस्करिणः ।
2. (i) कृत्य कल्प तरु—नियतकाल काण्ड पृ० २०३ (गौ० ध० सू० ५.४१)
   (ii) कृत्य कल्प तरु—गृहस्थकाण्ड—(वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ४.१) ; गौ० ध० सू० १०.३८) पृ० ५०, २५६
   (iii) कृत्य-कल्प-तरु—ब्रह्मचारि-काण्डे पृ० १५ (गौ० ध० सू० ११.३१)
3. दृष्ट्वासहाय—रचितं नारद-भाष्यं कुलेखकैः भ्रष्टम् । कल्याणेन क्रियते प्रावतनमेतद् विशोध्य पुनः
4. इति असहाय-नारदभाष्ये केशवभट्-प्रोत्साहित-कल्याणभट्ट परिशोधित-व्यवहारमातृकायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

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(about 1168 A.D.) tells us that *Asahāya* composed a *bhāṣya* on the *G.D. Sūtra*.[1]

Viśvarūpa also cites, as stated above, *Asahāya's* explanation of a *Sūtra of Gautama*.

It appears that *Asahāya* probably wrote a commentary on the *Manu Smṛti* also. A passage of the *Sarasvati-vilāsa*[2] says that partition of "*dharma*" was approved of by *Smṛtikāras* like *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, by their commentators, viz. *Asahāya Medhātithi*, *Vijñaneśvara and Aparārka* and by writers of "*nibhandhas*", *viz.* the authors of the *Candrikā* and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that *Asahāya* like *Medhātithi* was known to be a commentator of *Manu*. This conclusion is to same extent corroborated by the fact that the *Vivāda-ratnākara* quotes with reference to *Manu* 9.182 the words of *Asahāya thereon*. On *Manu* 8.156 *Medhātithi* quotes the opinion of *Asahāya*.

"The foregoing establishes that *Asahāya* composed *bhāṣyas* on the *G.D. Sūtra*, on the *Manu Smṛti* and on *Nārada*."

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1. हारलता (बो० आई० सीरीज़) पृ० ३५. गौतमः। बालदेशान्तरित प्रव्रजितानां सद्यः शौचम्। (गौ० ध० सू० १४, ४४)।
यत्र मृतोऽशौचाभ्यन्तरे न श्रूयते तद्देशान्तरं तत्र मृतो देशान्तरित इति गौतमभाष्यकृतासहायेन व्याख्यातम्। हारलता ; पृ० ९७. गौतमः।
पिण्डानिवृतिः सप्तमे पंचमे वा। (गौ० ध० सू० १४. १२)।
अत्रासहायव्याख्या। यदा पितृपितामह-प्रपितामहास्त्रयो जीवन्ति तदा प्रपितामहादूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यः पिण्डदानम्।

2. धर्मविभागो मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादि—स्मृतिकाराणां तत्स्मृतिव्याख्यातृणामसहाय मेधातिथि-विज्ञानेश्वरापरार्काणां निबन्धाणां चन्द्रिकाकारादीनां च संमत एव। सरस्वती विलासः॥
(पैरा ८३ पृ० ३४८)—माईसोर सं०

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Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of *Asahāya* by *Medhātithi* argued that he flourished earlier than *Medhātithi* (Tagore Law lectures p. 5 ; S.B.E. Vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the *Mitā.* and the "*Sarasvatī-vilāsa*" always place *Asahāya* before *Medhatithi* whenever authorities on "*Vyavahāra*" are enumerated. *Dr. Jolly's* conclusion is right as shown above but his reasoning is faulty. Thus on page 250, he writes that he can hardly be earlier than the 6th century.

Śrī V. Raghavan in N.C.C. gives the date as 750 A.D. Besides the above quotations of *Asahāya* in other books, we find the following reference also :—

I. On page 384 of *Sarasvatī Vilāsa on G.D.S.* 28.26.

भगिनी शुल्कं सौदर्याणामूर्ध्वं मातुः ॥

सोदराणामपि किंचिद् देयम् इति असहाय व्याख्यानम् ।

2. असहायादयस्तु योनिसम्बन्धानन्तरं विद्यासम्बन्धात् आचार्यगामित्वे तद्धनम् । तदभावे···

Besides his commentaries on *Manu and Nārada, Asahāya* wrote the following works :—

(1) लिखितं स्मृति-व्याख्या ।

(2) शंख-स्मृति-व्याख्या ।

(3) न्याय-रत्नदीपावली ।

Quoted in the commentary of *Ānandgiri* (*Vide* B.O.R.I. XVIII, 11, 1937 p. 205).

(d) *Maskarin*

1. In the *Mokṣa Kāṇda of Krtya Kalpa Taru, Maskarin* is quoted as the commentator of *G.D. Sūtra* besides *Bhartryajña and Asahāya.*

2. *Venkatā Nātha* also remembers *Maskarin* in his work *Śata Dūṣaṇī*, page 64.

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3. *Prof. P.V. Kāne*[1] does not say anything about *Maskarin* in his voluminous History of *Dharma Śāstra*, except mentioning "the Mysore Government Edition of *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* with the commentary of *Maskarin*".

His commentary is simple and is very intelligently written. The explanations are easy and can be understood by a person with ordinary knowledge of *Sanskrita*. The commentator seems to be a man of vast learning and wide experience. He quotes almost all the important writers of the day on disputable points. In the benedictory stanza and at the end, he calls his commentary as सर्वस्मृति-निबन्धनम्। He has given more than 2000 references from the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and other old and standard law-books. He has mentioned about 50 law-givers by name and has quoted more than 500 anonymous references.

In my text[2], 1524 references have been traced to their original sources.

It may be interesting to note that several passages[3] in the commentraies of *Maskarin* and *Haradatta* are similar. It is, therefore, difficult to say which of them has borrowed from the other unless some conclusive evidence is forthcoming.

8. Language of Gautama Dharma Sūtra.

Unlike other *Dharma Sūtras, the Gautama Dharma Sūtra* is written entirely in prose and contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself. But here and there occur some *sūtras* that read like portions of *Anuṣṭūba* verses *e.g.* 27-27.[4]

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1. History of Dharma Śāstra, p. 13.
2. In Press. (Revised Edition)
3. Vide G.D.S. 12.30 ; 13.20-22 etc.
4. आक्रोशानृत—हिंसासु त्रिरात्रं परमं तपः।

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The language of *Gautama* agrees with that of *Paṇini* more closely than with that of the *Dharma Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.*

9. Date of Gautama Dharma Sūtra.

(i) According to the fourfold division of the Vedic literature by *Prof. Max-Müller*, the *Sūtra* literature ranges from 600 to 200 B.C.[1]

(ii) *Prof. Macdonell* assigns 800 B.C. as the commencement of the later *Brāhmaṇa* literature comprising *Sūtras*, epics, and law-books.[2]

(iii) According to *R. K. Mukerji* the older *Dharma Sūtras* came into being between 800 and 300 B.C.[3]

(iv) *Dr. J. Jolly* places *Gautama* centuries before *Āpastamba* and perhaps even before *Baudhāyana.*[4]

(v) *Prof. Buhler* considers the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* as prior to the other four *Dharma Sūtras* which we still possess.[5]

(vi) In his History of *Dharma Śāstra* (Vol. I, p. 8) *Prof. Kāne* writes :—

"It will be seen later on that the extant *Dharma Sūtras* of *Gautama, Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba* certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B.C."

(vii) From the quotations given in *Gautama Dharma Sūtras* it is clear that several teachers of *Dharma* had preceded him. His reference to "*Manu*" gives the upper limit of his date, but unfortunately the date of "*Manu*" is itself uncertain. The only evidence that can, to some extent, help

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1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. by Rapson, p. 112. Cf. Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. Max. Müller Vol. IV, pp. VII ff.
2. India's Past, p. 161.
3. Hindu Civilization, p. 120.
4. Hindu Law and Custom, p. 9.
5. Introduction to his translation of Gautama Dharma Sūtra, p. XLIX.

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in determining *Gautama's* date is the references to him in the works of his successors like *Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha.* But again, the uncertainty of the dates of these authors, too, fails to give us a definite clue to *Gautama's* date.

The occurrence of the word "*Bhikṣū*" (3.10) instead of "*Parivrājaka*" of other *Sūtra* works, has led some scholars to conclude that *Gautama* existed after the time of *Buddha* (cf. the Buddhistic word "*Bhikkhu*"). Some scholars hinge their argument of placing *Gautama* posterior to *Alexander's* invasion on the occurrence of the word "*Yavana*" (4.17) in *Gautama Dharma Sūtra,* but *Buhler*[1] suggests that the passage may be an interpolation.

In our opinion *Buhler's* explanation is not satisfactory and the "*Yavana*" does not necessarily apply to the Greeks. It was loosely used for any foreigner whatsoever and there is ample evidence to show that India had contacts with foreigners long before *Alexander's* invasion.

All that we can say in the present state of our knowledge and from the evidence given above is that *Gautama* is separated by a long interval from the *Sām-Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa.* He is later than *Yāska* and that he wrote at a time when *Pāṇini's* system was either not in existence or it had no attained a pre-eminent position.

Dr. Ram Gopal in his book "India of *Vedic Kalpa Sūtras*", (Delhi 1959 p. 48) writes as follows :

"It is quite clear that all the *Sūtras* were not composed at one and the same time. They may be classified in the following groups :

(1) The Āśv. ś.s., the Āśv. G.S., the Lāt. Ś. S., the Baudh. Ś.S., the Baudh G.S., the Baudh. D.S., the Man. Ś.S., the Kauś. Ś.S., the *Gaut. D.S.* and the Gobh. G.S. form the earliest stratum of *Sūtra* literature.

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1. *Vide* S.B.E. Vol. II, Int. L. VI.

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(2) The second stratum of *Sūtra* literature is constituted by the Śaṅkh. Ś.S., the Śaṅkh. G.S., the Bhār. Ś.S., the Bhār. G.S., the Āp. S.S., the Āp. G.S., the Āp. D.S., the Kāt. S.S., the Pār. G.S., and the Kāṭh. G.S. which are later than the *Sūtras* placed in Group 1.

(3) The Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra, the Kh. G.S., the Jaim. Ś.S., the Jaim. G.S., the Hir. Ś.S., the Hir. G.S., the Vaitāna Sūtra, and the Vas. D.S., (*Sūtra*-portion) form the third stratum of *sūtra* literature and are later than the *Sūtras* included in the first two groups.

(4) The Var. Ś.S., the Var. G.S., the Vaikh. Ś. S., the Vaikh. G.S., the Vaikh. D.S., the Agni. G.S., and the Agni. D.S. are undoubtedly the latest *sūtras*, and the date of their composition definitely falls outside that period which is generally known and the *Sūtra Period* of Vedic Literature."

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CONCLUSION

The thesis deals with the social system as prevalent in ancient India and as depicted in the *Gautama Dharma Sūtras*, *Apastamba Dharma Sūtras*, *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtras*, *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras* and *Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtras* and two Smṛtis *Yajñavalkya* and *Manu* Smṛti.

The foundation and the structure of Indian Society was based on the concept of *Varṇāśrama* system which had its origin in the earliest times. There have been minor changes in the broader concept of this *Varṇāśrama* system and the system as being practised during the period of *Dharma Sūtras* alongwith the important controversy which had already developed at that time, *i.e.*, whether the system had its origin in birth or action has been examined and analysed. The chapter further analyses how from the inter-marriages the caste system developed. The code of moral life and the behaviour towards elders described by the *Dharma Sūtras* has also been analysed, as it is alongwith the *Varṇāśrama* and caste system—the basic foundation on which the social structure was based.

Historically the system of education as prevalent in ancient India may be divided into four divisions—

(i) Pre-historic period upto 1000 B.C.
(ii) 1000 B.C. to 200 B.C.
(iii) 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.
(iv) 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.

Most of the *Dharma Sūtras* have been written during the second period. The chapter discusses the various facets of the system of education, like the Free Compulsory Education, the Teaching system, the Monitory system, the Examination system, and specialised training courses in

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various technical branches. It also depicts the role of the State and the Society in the spread of Education. The *Brāhmaṇa* and *non-Brāhmaṇa* teachers, the qualifications for the eligibility of a teacher and a student, as well as their relationship have been discussed. The *Upanayana, Vidyārambha* and *Samāvartana Saṁskāras* depict the various stages through which a student had to pass. Finally, the chapter throws sufficient light on the education in the second part *i.e.* "Education in Ancient India".

Where as the first chapter (in Part II) depicts the condition of the society in general, the second chapter examines the basic unit of the family on which the epitome of social structure was erected. The organization of the Joint Family System. the married life and its significant social effects have thoroughly been examined alongwith the marriage ceremony in the third part of—"Happy Married Life in Ancient India".

The third part examines the various types of householders and their duties. There were five principal daily duties prescribed for a householder which were essential to fulfil the religious and also social obligations, *e.g.*, the '*Atithi-Yajña*' which had also been given a religious overtone.

The other chapter has been devoted to the position of women as depicted in *Dharma-Sūtras*. The different forms of marriage, suitable age for marriage and the relations prescribed or forbidden for a girl to marry have been examined. The different institutions of married life like the Polygamy, Monogamy and Niyoga have also been discussed. The legal and civil status of women and their rights of inheritance throw interesting light on the position held by women in the society in ancient India.

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Part II

Education in Ancient India

(pp. 1—140)

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Part III

Happy Married Life in Ancient India

(pp. 1—188)

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Education in Ancient India

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FOREWORD

Dr. Veda Mitra has approached me with a request to write a foreword for his learned thesis covering important aspects of social life and conditions in ancient India as described in Dharma Sūtras. I am complying with this request more due to my love of the subject than an over-estimation of my knowledge thereof or competence to throw new light on the wide field covered by the thesis.

As is well known the law givers in ancient India were the Ṛṣis who embodied the code of human behaviour in aphorisms generally known as the Dharma Sūtras. Some of them were compiled as Smṛtis and various works enlist a number of Sūtrakāras and Smṛtikāras *e.g.* Yājñavalkya[1] mentions twenty of them as धर्मशास्त्र प्रयोजका: or those who systematised the science of the Dharma *i.e.*, the principles which hold together and contribute to the development of Society. Amongst these we find such great names as Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Uśnas, Aṅgiras, Yama, Āpastamba, Samvarta, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Dakṣa, *Gautama,* Sātatapas and Vasiṣṭha. The Sūtras and the codes were like encyclopaedia of knowledge. They covered what we now analytically classify as History, Geography, Politics, Hygiene, Economics and Law. Of course, they were all conditioned by the ultimate object

---

1. मन्वत्रि-विष्णु-हारीत-याज्ञवल्क्योशनोऽङ्गिराः ।
यमापस्तम्बसम्वर्ताः कात्यायन-बृहस्पती ॥
पराशर-व्यास-शङ्खलिखिताः दक्षगौतमौ ।
शातातपो वसिष्ठश्च धर्मशास्त्र-प्रयोजकाः ॥
याज्ञवल्क्य ४।५

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which the Ṛṣis had in mind namely, spiritual self-realisation,[1] through the betterment of the Universe.

The methods they adopted to preserve this quintessence of experience for posterity was to adopt the medium of the Sūtras *i.e.* a brief catch-word leaving it to the skill and imagination of the future preceptor, commentator or reader to amplify the meaning and to apply the basic idea to a given set of conditions which may be prevalent in his/her own time. Everyone who has had even a glimpse of the valuable knowledge preserved in the Sūtras is filled with perpetual wonder at the extremely lucid, penetrating and scientific manner of presentation adopted by the Sūtrakāras and, what is more, it seems that Savants in ancient India had also developed a system whereby they used to keep their knowledge fresh and up-to-date. In the Upākarma ceremony held every year by the Dvijātis they resolve[2] "*inter-alia*" that they meet for discarding whatever is out of date in the knowledge they have already attained or they propose to attain.

Dr. Veda Mitra has dealt in detail with three important aspects of life in ancient India—(i) education, (ii) the life of the householder and (iii) the status of women in society. In going through the chapter on education one cannot but be struck by the similarity of most of the problems dealt with by Sūtrakāras in those times and the problems still facing educationists almost all over the world, such as the period of instruction, the teacher-pupil ratio, the pupil-teacher relationship, the emoluments of the teacher, etc. We find that on almost all these the ancients had arrived at solutions which even the moderners cannot discard lightly. I will mention only a few instances. The ancients had indicated three stages in education—(i) upto the age of 5 where the child was to learn at

---

1. अयमेव परो धर्मो यद् योगेनात्मदर्शनम् । याज्ञ ०४।८
2. छन्दसामधीतानाम् अध्येष्यमाणानां च यातयामत्व-निरसनार्थम् । संकल्पम्

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the home through affection of parents and elders, (ii) from 6 to 15 where he had to learn through the formal and rigid discipline of the school and thereafter (iii) like a friend to be guided by preceptors to learn through self-study. The ancient system of dividing society into four groups or Varṇas based on their aptitudes and occupations led to the result that about 25% of the students of the relevant age group went for higher and deeper studies—they were Brāhmaṇas. We now find that the proportion of students going for higher studies namely, University education even in the advanced countries is not more than about 25%. In regard to the vexed question of teachers' emoluments it appears that the ancients had arrived at the truth of the matter when they concluded that society will probably never be able to pay the teachers adequately in terms of money and, therefore, all that the person adopting the teacher's life should expect is austere life with ample respect from society and complete freedom in respect of the education of his pupils. It was a teacher who decided[1] whether the student had completed his studies and could enter upon life.

The reader will notice that from the entire chapter on education in ancient India we get a glimpse of the life of the teachers and the taught both imbued with the aspiration to attain the highest knowledge which could be described as self-development to the point reaching oneness with the Divinity. The very term that the ancients used namely, 'Vidyā' is derived from the root* having multiple meanings. In its various forms this root gives us

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1. अपि प्रसन्नेन महर्षिणा त्वं सम्यग्विनीयानुमतो गृहाय॑।
कालोह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते। रघु० सर्ग ५।१०

*1. विद् 2 P. ज्ञाने to know, to regard ; वेत्ति, वेद ;
2. विद् 4 A. सत्तायां to happen, to be ; विद्यते ;
3. विद् 6 U. लाभे to get, to find, to feel ; विन्दति-ते ;
4. विद् 7 A. विचारणे to discuss, to consider ; विङ्क्ते ;
5. विद् 10 A. चेतनाख्यान निवासेषु to feel, to tell, to dwell ; वेदयते।

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at least five distinct meanings indicating knowledge, reality, attainment, discrimination and sublime emotion. It appears as though the ancients used this term 'Vidyā' to cover all these meanings, each one of which has a deep significance in human life and development.

In the other two important chapters this thesis deals with life of the householder and the status of women in ancient India. There is a widespread though erroneous impression that our ancients were so pre-occupied with contemplation of the abstract that they did not give sufficient thought and attention to mundane affairs. A glance through these two chapters should remove this impression wherever it exists. Contrary to that impression the ancients considered the life of the householder as the backbone of the entire social structure. The Gṛhastha Āśrama has been conceived as the Āśrama which benefits and sustains the other three. Therefore Sūtrakāras were very particular in prescribing and describing in great detail the duties and obligations as also the rights of householders.

Similarly, in fact to a greater extent, there is another mistaken notion that the ancient society in India disregarded its womanhood almost entirely and that women could never attain equal status with men. On going through the relevant chapter in this thesis, the reader will find that within the limits of the fundamental principles which the society of those times had formulated in regard to the role of women, they had advocated highest respect for women in the various walks of life and for the deserving ones no doors were closed either in the field of knowledge or in social hierarchy.

I understand that Dr. Veda Mitra (literally a friend of the Vedas) devotes some time daily for the study of the Vedas and the Vedic Literature. He has done well to put together in this handy thesis an integrated picture of social conditions based on the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Smṛtis and other Dharma Śāstras. Although he has

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mentioned that his thesis is based mainly on Gautama, one finds in going through it ample evidence of deep and wide learning. I wish to congratulate the learned author for his valuable contribution towards research in this field and trust that every reader will find in this work some material to instruct and to arouse interest. The numerous cross references given on each of the topics indicate that the author has not only read various works having a bearing on the subject of his thesis but has also assimilated that learning so as to produce a systematic exposition of some of the most important aspects of the highly civilised ancient Indian society in which each individual, man or woman, had not only full opportunity for education but also constant guidance from the learned for leading a purposeful life and not merely a listless existence.

L. O. JOSHI
Joint Secretary
Ministry of Education

New Delhi,
1-1-1964.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Structure of Society

The Varṇāśrama System

The social structure in ancient India was based on scientific principles. It was a wise and statesman-like classification which procured a general distribution of wealth, expelled misery and want from the land, promoted mental and moral progress, ensured material efficiency and, above all, made tranquillity compatible with advancement. This classification was called the Varṇāśrama System.

(A) *The Varṇas*

According to the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā mankind was divided into two classes :—

(1) The Āryas and (2) the Dasyus, *i.e.*, (1) the civilised and (2) the savage[1].

According to the Yajurveda Saṁhitā, we find the following four classes :—

(1) The Brāhmaṇas—who devoted themselves to learning and acquiring wisdom and following the liberal arts and sciences.

(2) The Kṣatriyas—who devoted themselves to the theory and practice of war and to whom the executive government of the people was entrusted.

(3) Vaiśyas—who devoted themselves to trade and the professions.

(4) Śūdras (men of low capacities)—who served and helped the other three classes[2].

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1. वि जानीह्यार्यान् ये च दस्यवः ॥ ऋ० १।५१।८

2. ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणं क्षत्राय राजन्यं मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यं तपसे शूद्रं ···॥ यजु० ३०।५

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According to another classification found in the Puruṣa-Sūkta of the Ṛgveda[1], which also occurs in the Yajurveda, the social stratification was as follows—

"When they made men (human society), how did they divide it? What was its mouth, what its arms, what thighs and what feet? In God's creation, the Brāhmaṇa—in body politic—was like the head in the body, a Kṣatriya was like arms, a Vaiśya was like thighs and a Śūdra was considered as feet. 'Brāhmaṇa' is he who knows God and the Veda and is their devotee. 'Kṣatriya' is he who is warlike in spirit and defends the country like soldiers. 'Vaiśya' is the agriculturist and tradesman, the chief supporter of the society. 'Śūdra' is a labourer on whose toil and industry all prosperity ultimately depends. These were the four Varṇas or castes in the society. They have been compared to the four parts of the body."

In the Vedic terminology, the word 'Varṇa' comes from the root 'Vṛ' 'to choose'. What is chosen is 'Varṇa'. It may be taken to mean a profession, because it is chosen. The theory of occupation is based upon two factors: Firstly, the society needs many things, which no single person can do efficiently. Secondly, every person has some peculiar tendencies and, if left free, he follows his own bent of mind.

Society leaves every man free to choose his own line of work. A Brāhmaṇa is a learned man. He is intellectually advanced. He should learn, should teach, should perform sacrifices, should help others in the performance of sacrifices, should give in charity and also receive in

1. यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयत्।
मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का ऊरू पादा उच्येते ॥११॥
ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥१२॥
ऋग्० १०।९०।११-१२; यजु० ३१।१०-११

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charity. A head is a head only so long as it functions as head, *i.e.*, it leads the whole body and safeguards the interests of every member of the body. A head cut off from the body, is no head at all as far as its functions are concerned. Similarly, no Brāhmaṇa is a Brāhmaṇa if he ceases to be the trustee of the interests of the whole body, *i.e.*, society. The acquisition of knowledge to be achieved by the head is not for itself but for the whole body. The eye sees that the foot may not falter. The ear hears that the hand may not err. A Kṣatriya is a protector. He protects from harm, (Kṣatāt trāyate iti). He is to protect himself and the remaining three Varṇas. Thus, he is to help the whole society. A Vaiśya is a producer or distributor of wealth. He is to grow food, tend cattle, weave cloth, follow some craft, or be an agent to carry things from the place of their production to the place where they are needed. In this way, the Vaiśyas are the producers of wealth, distributors of wealth, keepers of wealth and the sustainers of of the whole society by means of wealth. A Śūdra is not made a Śūdra by the society, but he is a Śūdra because he could not, on account of his own weakness or idleness, choose for himself a respectable place. The society does not discard him. He is a useful member of the society, just as a man cannot stand upon his legs without feet.

(B) *The Āśramas*

The individual and the social sides of Karma are inseparably intertwined. The theory of Varṇa or Caste emphasises the social aspect, while that of Āśrama[1] or the stages of life, concerned with a person's individual aspect.

---

1. Āśrama (ā+śram+ghañ), the root √śram with the prefix 'ā' means to perform religious austerities + (ādhāre ghañ, vṛddhy-abhāvaḥ).

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These four stages are (i) Brahmacarya[1], or the period of training, (ii) Gṛhasthāśrama[2], or the period of work for the world as a householder, (iii) Vānaprasthāśrama[3], or the period of retreat for the loosening of the social bonds, and (iv) Saṃnyāsa[4], or the period of renunciation and expectant awaiting of freedom. They indicate that life is a pilgrimage to the eternal life through different stages.

Having completed the Brahmacarya, a man must be a Gṛhastha, and thereafter a Vānaprastha and last of all a Saṃnyāsin[5].

---

1. Brahman—√Bṛṅh+manin, Bṛṅhati vardhate niratiśaya—mahatva-lakṣaṇa-vṛddhimān bhavati. Brahmacārin—[Brahma jñānaṃ tapo vāvaśyaṃ ācarati arjayati; Brahma +car+ṇini]. Brahman the Veda and Brahmacārin, practising sacred study as an unmarried student, observing chastity, a young Brāhmaṇa who is a student of the Veda (under a preceptor), or who practises chastity, a young Brāhmaṇa before marriage in the first period of his life.

2. Gṛhastha—(Gṛhe tiṣṭhatīti Gṛhasthaḥ) living or staying in a house, a householder. Gṛhasthāśrama—the order of a householder.

   वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वा ऽपि यथा क्रमम् ।
   अविप्लुत-ब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममाविशेत् ।। मनु० ३।२

3. Vānaprastha—(Vāna—√Van+aṇ referential aff.) relating to a jungle (vāne vanasamuhe pratiṣṭhati), a Brāhmaṇa in the third stage of life (who has passed through the stages of student and householder and has abandoned his house and family for an ascetic life in the woods).

4. Saṃ-nyāsa—(Saṃ+ni+√as to throw +ghañ) renunciation of the world. Saṃnyāsin is one who abandons or resigns worldly affairs.

5. ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमं समाप्य गृही भवेत्, गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेद्,
   वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत् । शत० का० १४

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The conception of four Āśramas is based on the supposition of the span of life to be hundred[1] years. The period is divided into four parts, each of which has appropriate duties assigned to it. By performing all duties in all the Āśramas, the Ātman is said to be released from the circle of birth and death through self-realisation.

The Upanayana[2] ceremony initiates one and confers on him the competence to study the Veda. The completion of the period of study, commencing after Upanayana and ending with a lustration (Snāna) is required before the youth can return home (Samāvartana) and become eligible for the second Āśrama, *i.e.*, Gṛhastha. It is not obligatory for everybody to enter upon the next two stages, *viz.*, those of the hermit (Vāna prashtha) and the ascetic (Saṃnyāsin).

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1. (i) शतं जीव शरदो वर्धमानः शतं हेमन्ताञ्छतमु वसन्तान्।
शतमिन्द्राग्नि सविता बृहस्पतिः शतायुषा हविषेमं पुनर्दुः ॥
ऋग्० १०।१६१।४; अथर्व० ३।११।४

(ii) पश्येम शरदः शतं, जीवेम शरदः शतं, शृणुयाम शरदः शतं,
प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतमदीनाः स्याम शरदः शतम् ॥ यजु० ३६।२४

(iii) चतुर्थमायुषो भागमुषित्वाऽऽद्यं गुरौ द्विजः।
द्वितीयमायुषो भागं कृतदारो गृहे वसेत् ॥ मनु० ४।१

2. Upanaya also Upanāya or Upanayana—(upa + √ nī + lyuṭ), the act of leading to or near; introduction (into any science); that ceremony in which a Guru draws a boy towards himself and initiates him to one of the three twice-born classes [one of the twelve Sanskāras or purificatory rites] [prescribed in the Dharma Sūtras and explained in the Gṛhya Sūtras] in which the boy is invested with the sacred thread worn over the left shoulder and under the right, [different for the three castes] and thus endowed with second or spiritual birth and qualified to learn the Veda by heart; a Brāhmaṇa is initiated in the eighth year [or seventh according to Hiraṇyakeśin; or eighth from conception, according to Śaṅkhāyana, etc.], a Kṣatṛya in the eleventh, a Vaiśya in the twelfth; but the term could be delayed; Āśva. Gṛ 1|19-22; Śāṅkh. Gṛ. 2|1-6; Pār. Gṛ 2|2-5; Gobh. 2|10, Hir. Gṛ—1|18 egg.; Manu 2|36; Yājñ. 1|14.

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Some law-givers[1] permit a person to enter the order of Saṃnyāsa even in the childhood, if he has an aversion towards social life and has spiritual leanings. They do not, therefore, consider it necessary for every one to pass through the second Āśrama, *i.e.*, Gārhasthya. But unless one is a married man (Gṛhastha), he cannot procreate sons, and repay the debt to ancestors (*i.e.*, pitṛ-ṛṇa)[2]. While the rules of Saṃnyāsa require that an entrant should not seek the Āśrama merely to escape his debt, the acolyte who becomes a Saṃnyāsin, without first living as a house-holder enters the last stage with an undischarged natal debt.

Usually, however, the Samāvartana or home-returning takes place at about the twenty-fifth year, the next twenty-five years being allotted to the house-holder's life (Gārhasthya), the third twenty-five years to the selfless national service (*i.e.*, as a Vānaprastha) and the last twenty-five years to the detached renunciation (Saṃnyāsa).

Having thus passed the third stage of life, *i.e.*, from the fiftieth to the seventy-fifth year—as a Vānaprastha in a forest, a man enters the fourth stage and renounces all connections and becomes a Saṃnyāsin. He, who gives exemption from fear of all living beings, leaves his home and becomes a Saṃnyāsin[3], and thereafter devotes himself to the dissemination and preaching of the divine religion of the Vedas and of other Śāstras, attains to the state of Eternal Bliss called Mokṣa.

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1. (i) तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते ॥ गौतम ध० सू० ३।१
   (ii) यमिच्छेत् तमावसेत् ॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ७।२
2. जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्वा जायते,
   ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य इति ।
   वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ११।४२
   बौधायन ध० सू० २।६।४१
3. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो वानप्रस्थः परिव्राजक इति ।
   बौधायन ध० सू० २।६।१७

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1. According to Gautama, the four orders are that of the Student, that of the Householder, that of the Ascetic (Bhikṣu) and that of the Hermit in the woods (Vaikhānasa). Some declare that he who has studied the Veda may make his choice which among the orders, he is going to enter. All the restrictions imposed on students must also be observed by men of other orders, provided they are not opposed to their particular duties. Men of the several castes and orders who always live according to their duty, enjoy after death the rewards of their works and by virtue of a remnant of their merit, they are born again in excellent countries, castes and families endowed with beauty, long life, learning in the Vedas, virtuous conduct, wealth, happiness and wisdom. He, who lives thus, gains the heaven of Brahman and of him it is said that he has subdued his organs of sense and action.[1]

2. The Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra also gives the four-fold classification : the Student, the Householder, the Hermit and the Renunciate ; a man who has studied one, two or three Vedas without violating the rules of studentship may enter, whichsoever of these orders he pleases. A student should serve his teacher till the last breath of his life. The man performs his duties with due knowledge becomes highly praiseworthy in the world and after death attains heaven.[2]

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1. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो भिक्षुर्वैखानसः ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ३।२
तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ३।१
उत्तरेषां चैतदविरोधि ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ३।१०
वर्णा आश्रमाश्च स्वकर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्म फलमनुभूय ततश्शेषेण विशिष्ट-देश जाति कुल रूपायुश्श्रुत वृत्त सुख मेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते ॥
गौ० ध० सू० ११।३१

एवं वृत्तो ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति जितेन्द्रियः ॥ गौतम धर्म सूत्र ३।९

2. चत्वार आश्रमा ब्रह्मचारि गृहस्थ वानप्रस्थ परिव्राजकाः ॥१॥ तेषां वेदमधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदान् वाऽविशीर्णब्रह्मचर्यो यमिच्छेत् तमावसेत् ॥२॥ ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यं परिचरेत् ॥३॥ आ शरीर विमोक्षात् ॥४॥ ज्ञात्वा चानुतिष्ठन् धार्मिकः प्रशस्यतमो भवति लोके, प्रेत्य च स्वर्गं लोकं समश्नुते ॥२॥
वसिष्ठ धर्म सूत्र ७।१-४; १।२

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3. According to the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, also, there are four orders, *viz.*, the order of householders, the order of students, the order of ascetics and the order of hermits in the woods. If a man lives in all these four according to the rules of the law, without allowing himself to be disturbed by anything, he will attain salvation. The duty to live in the teacher's house after the initiation is common to all of them. Not to abandon sacred learning is a duty common to all. Having learnt the rites that are to be performed in each order, he may perform what he wishes. In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower one, if they neglect their duties. In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher one, if they have fulfilled their duties.[1]

4. According to the Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra, the four stages of life are the Brahmacārin (religious student), the Gṛhastha (householder), the Vānaprastha (hermit) and the Bhikṣu (mendicant).[2]

Varṇāśrama by birth or action

The Varṇāśrama was not the same as the caste-system of the present day. No one was a Brāhmaṇa by blood nor a Śūdra by birth, but everybody belonged to the order to which his merits fitted him to be. The people were not irrevocably walled in by castes, but they were free to rise to the highest social level or sink to the lowest position,

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1. चत्वार आश्रमा गार्हस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानप्रस्थ्यमिति ॥१॥
बुद्ध्वा कर्माणि यत् कामयेत् तदारभेत ॥५॥
सर्वेषामुपनयन प्रभृति समान आचार्य कुले वासः ॥३॥
सर्वेषामनुत्सर्गो विद्यायाः ॥४॥
धर्मचर्यया जघन्यो वर्णः पूर्वं पूर्वं वर्णमापद्यते जाति परि वृत्तौ ॥१०॥
अधर्म चर्यया पूर्वो वर्णो जघन्यं जघन्यं वर्णमापद्यते जाति परिवृत्तौ ॥११॥
आपस्तम्ब धर्म सूत्रे २/६/२१/१, ५, ३, ४; २/५/११/१०-११

2. तदाश्रमिणश्चत्वारो ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो वानप्रस्थो भिक्षुरिति ॥१३॥
वैखानस धर्म सूत्रे १/१/१३

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according to the inherent qualities they might possess. The son of a Brāhmaṇa sometimes became a Kṣatriya, sometimes a Vaiśya and sometimes a Śūdra. At the same time, a Śūdra could become a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. Śankar Dig Vijaya holds that, "By birth all are Śūdras, by action men become Dvija (twice-born). By reading the Veda one becomes Vipra and becomes Brāhmaṇa by gaining a knowledge of God".[1] The Mahābhārata (Śānti parva) mentions that, "There are no distinctions of caste. Thus, a world which, as created by Brahma, was at first entirely Brāhmaṇic, has become divided into classes, in consequence of men's actions.'[2] We read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (ii 3-19), for example, that Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who was a Śūdra and son of a low woman, was greatly respected for his literary attainments, and admitted into the class of Ṛṣis. Therefore, the original classification was based not on mere birth but on qualifications, occupation, character and temperament (Guṇa, Karma and Svabhāva). A Brāhmaṇa can become a Śūdra if he lacks in Brāhmaṇic qualifications, and *vice-versa* a Śūdra can become a Brāhmaṇa.[3] All were created by God. There is no difference between one man and another. It is by their actions that mankind was divided into different *Varaṇa* or classes.[4] A Brāhmaṇa must devote his life to the study of Vedas and to teaching others. An uneducated Brāhmaṇa, says Manu, is like a milkless cow, a deer

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1. जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद् द्विज उच्यते।
वेदपाठी भवेद् विप्रः ब्रह्म जानाति ब्राह्मणः॥ शंकर दिग्विजये

2. न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत्।
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम्॥ महाभारते (शान्ति पर्वे)

3. शूद्रो ब्राह्मणतामेति ब्राह्मणश्चैति शूद्रताम्।
क्षत्रियाज्जातमेवं तु विद्याद्वैश्यात्तथैव च॥ मनु० १०।६५

4. महाभारत शान्तिपर्व, अ० १८८

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made of leather or an elephant made of wood.[1] A Brāhmaṇa is to lead a life of poverty and shun worldly honours like poison.[2] A Brāhmaṇa who, omitting the study of the Vedas, devotes himself to other pursuits, soon becomes a Śūdra along with his family.[3] A Brāhmaṇa must sacrifice all means of making money if they interfere with his studies. His chief duty is anyhow to be able to teach.[4] A Brāhmaṇa who does not study the Vedas and does not perform any Tapas and yet accepts charity goes down like a stone boat in the water along with him who is guilty of giving charity to such a Brāhmaṇa.[5] An ignorant Brāhmaṇa should not take even the smallest charity from any one otherwise like a cow stuck fast in a bog, he will sink deeper and deeper in the quagmire of sin.[6] Even water should not be given to a Brāhmaṇa who knows nothing of the Vedas or of religion and is a

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1. यथा काष्ठमयो हस्ती यथा चर्ममयो मृगः।
   यश्च विप्रोऽनधीयानस्त्रयस्ते नाम बिभ्रति ॥ मनु० २।१५७
   यथा षण्डोऽफलः स्त्रीषु यथा गौर्गवि चाफला।
   यथा चाज्ञेऽफलं दानं तथा विप्रोऽनृचोऽफलः ॥ मनु० २।१५८
   तपो विशेषैर्विविधैर्व्रतैश्च विधिचोदितैः।
   वेदः कृत्स्नोऽधिगन्तव्यः सरहस्यो द्विजन्मनाः ॥ मनु० २।१६५
   वेदमेव सदाभ्यस्येत्तपस्तप्स्यन् द्विजोत्तमः।
   वेदाभ्यासो हि विप्रस्य तपः परमिहोच्यते ॥ मनु० २।१६६
2. सम्मानाद् ब्राह्मणो नित्यमुद्विजेत् विषादिव।
   अमृतस्येव चाकाङ्क्षेदवमानस्य सर्वदा ॥ मनु० २।१६२
3. योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम्।
   स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥ मनु० २।१६८
4. सर्वान्परित्यजेदर्थान् स्वाध्यायस्य विरोधिनः।
   यथा तथाध्यापयंस्तु साह्यस्य कृतकृत्यता ॥ मनु० ४।१७
5. अतपास्त्वनधीयानः प्रतिग्रहरुचिर्द्विजः।
   अम्भस्यश्मप्लवेनेव सह तेनैव मज्जति ॥ मनु० ४।१९०
6. तस्माद् विद्वान् विभियाद्यस्मात्तस्मात् प्रतिग्रहात्।
   स्वल्पकेनाप्य विद्वान् हि पङ्के गौरिव सीदति ॥ मनु० ४।१९१

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hypocrite like a mouse-catching cat and a fish-catching heron or king-fisher.[1] Ṛgveda also endorses the opinion of Manu and mentions "Men endowed with eyes and ears are alike, but they are unequal so far their mental propensities are concerned."[2]

It is distinctly stated in Chāndogyopaniṣad that Jābāla, who is otherwise called Satya-Kāma, had no gotra or family name whatever. (Chānd. up. iv. 4). He is known so after his mother Jabālā. In Āpastamba Sūtra (ii. 5. 10) and Manu (10-65), we find that a Śūdra can become a Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa can become Śūdra according to his good or bad deeds. Viśvamitra and Vālmīki were Śūdras by birth. There was no hereditary caste. The people enjoyed the advantage of hereditary genius without the serious drawbacks of a rigid system of caste based on birth.

Śukrācārya says :—"Not by birth are the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatṛyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and Mlechas separated but by virtue and work.[3] All are descended from Brahmā to be called Brāhmaṇa. Neither through colour nor through ancestors can the spirit worthy of a Brāhmaṇa be generated. The Brāhmaṇa is so called because of his virtues. Again, the man who has mastered the sciences and the arts should be the preceptor of all. But one, who is not learned, cannot be a preceptor because of birth. Knowledge was looked upon as the primary qualification of a person as Brāhmaṇa. Viśvamitra, Devāpi and Janaka became Brāhmaṇas through learning.[4]

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1. न वार्यपि प्रयच्छेत्तु वैडाल व्रतिके द्विजे ।
   न वक्र व्रतिके विप्रे नावेदविदि धर्मवित् ॥मनु० ४।१९२
2. अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायो मनोजवेष्वसमा बभूवुः ॥ ऋ० १०।७१।७
3. शुक्रनीति १।७५-८०; ४।४३-४४
4. शतपथ ब्रा० ११।६।२।१; ३।२।१।३९ ff.; १३।४।१।३

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Kavaṣa, son of Ilūṣā, a low-caste woman, was admitted as a Ṛṣi for his purity, learning and wisdom.[1] Perhaps the most notable feature of his life was that he, Śūdra as he was, distinguished himself as a Ṛṣi of some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda[2] (*viz.*, Ṛg. X. 30-34). The Upaniṣads tell us of kings like Janaka of Videha, Aśvapati, king of the Kekayas, Ajātaśatru of Kāśī and Prabhu Jābāla of Pañcāla disputing with and even instructing Brāhmaṇas in the lore of the Brahmā. Similarly, the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad speaks of a king becoming a seer. Satyakāma Jābāla, son of a slave-girl, was the founder of a school of the Yajur Veda.[3] Similarly, Ṛṣi Vālmīki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa was but a Śūdra.[4]

In the early days of the human race, it is said, there were no class distinctions, since all are born from the Supreme.[5] According to the Śruti, the fishermen, the slaves and the gamblers are all divine.[6] Manu says that all men are born unregenerate (Śūdra) by the first or physical birth, but become regenerate (dvija) by the second or spiritual birth.[7]

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1. ऐत्तरेय ब्रा० २।३।१६; ७।२३१; ७।१६
2. ऋग्वेद १०।३०-३४
3. छान्दोग्य उप० ५।४
4. Compare : "Viśvamitra, Vasiṣṭha, Mātaṅga, Nārada and others became elevated by special penances and not by birth." (Śukranītisāra IV, IV lines 80-81).
5. सर्वं ब्राह्मम् इदं जगत् । महाभारत शा० प० अ० १८६
6. ब्रह्मदाशा ब्रह्मदासा ब्रह्मवेमे कितवा : ।
7. जन्मना जायते शूद्रः, कर्मणा द्विज उच्यते ।

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CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DIVISION OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

The education in ancient India may be divided historically in the following periods :—

(1) The first period, from the pre-historic times to 1,000 B.C. It may be conveniently described as the Vedic age, as most of the Vedic literature was composed during this period.

(2) The second period, from 1,000 B.C. to 200 B.C. It may be described as the age of Upaniṣads, the Sūtras and Epics, as these works can broadly be assigned to this period. As the Nandas and Mauryas flourished in this age, the age can also be described as the age of the Nandas and Mauryas.

(3) The third period extends from 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Dharma Śāstras, as most of the leading works on this subject were written during this period. Guptas, Vākāṭakās and Sātavāhanas were the leading political powers of this period.

(4) The fourth period extends from 500 A.D. to 1,200 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Purāṇas and digests (Nibandhas), as society was guided mainly by the theories and practices recommended in these works. Harṣa and Bhoja were the most prominent rulers during this period.[1]

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1. Education in Ancient India by Dr. A.S. Altekar p. 234, Benares, 4th edition, 1951.

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System of Education

The Educational System in ancient India was based on the conception of Brahmacarya, which laid greater emphasis on caryā than mere learning. The system was established on the tie of constant association between the teacher and the taught. The Sanskrit word for the pupil was antevāsin,[1] while ācārya[2] stood for the preceptor. A student was known by the word Brahmacārī. The religious student belonging to the caste of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or

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1. अन्तेवासी—शिष्यान्तेवासिनौ छात्रः शैक्षः प्राथमकल्पिकः ।
हलायुधकोशः ३९४

छात्रान्तेवासिनौ शिष्ये शैक्षाः प्राथमकल्पिकाः ।
एक ब्रह्मव्रताचारा मिथः सब्रह्मचारिणः ।। अमरकोष २।७।११
अन्तेवासिन् (पुं०) [अन्ते विद्याध्येतुमध्यापक समीपे वसति । अन्त + वस् + णिनि] शिष्यः छात्रः ; कृशाश्वान्तेवासी कुशिकपति राज्ञापयति वः इति महावीरचरिते । तात् प्राचेतसान्तेवासी लवोऽभिवादयते इति उत्तररामचरिते । अन्त in the locative case, near, वस् to abide and णिनि affix, who dwells near his teacher. महाभाष्य ii.2.18 ; I. 416.

2. आचार्यः—आङ्, चर to go, ण्यत् affix, in the fem. टाप् or ङीप् with आनुक inserted. [आ+चर+ण्यत् पाणिनि VI.2.35], उपनयनपूर्वक वेदाध्यापकः ।

आचार्यो ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्रह्मचारिणमिच्छते । अथर्व ११।५।१७
आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । अथर्व ११।५।३
आचार्याः—संस्थानाध्यायिनः आचार्याः पूर्वे बभूवुः,
श्रवणादेव प्रतिपद्यन्ते न कारणं पृच्छन्ति । गोपथ ब्रा० पूर्वभाग १।२७
अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु आचार्य उपनेता । बौधायन १।१०।२०
मन्त्र व्याख्या कृदाचार्यः । अमर कोष २।७।७
उपनीय तु यः शिष्यं वेदमाध्यापयेद् द्विजः ।
सकल्पं सरहस्यञ्च तमाचार्यं प्रचक्षते ।। मनुः २।१४०
"आचार्य आचारानाचिनोति, अर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिं वा" इति यास्कः
उपनीय ददद्वेदमाचार्यः स उदाहृतः ।। याज्ञ० १।३४

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Vaiśya was known by the term Varṇī[1] (Pāṇ, V. 2. 134). As a pupil, he was known as *Chātra*[2] because his duty was always to be at his teacher's service and to protect him from harm like an umbrella. The antevāsin was to lead the life of a regular Brahmacārin in the house of his teacher. Special hostels for female students had also come into existence (Chātrī Śālā *i.e.*, Lady's Hostel).

In ancient India the educational system embodied the method of oral teaching and committing texts by heart. This system prescribed the ancient learning through the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation, before it was stored up in the form of manuscripts. The success of oral tradition (Śruti) lies in the faith—sacred words have a value and should be treasured up in memory.

The grouping of classes point out to a system of planned courses. The various categories of students like *mānava*[3] (the novice), antevāsī (a full-fledged Brahmacārī), prānte-

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1. वर्ण m. A class, a caste, an order. वर्ण to paint etc. aff. अच् or घञ् or वृ to cover or screen Uṇādi aff. नक्। वर्णिन् a [वर्णोऽस्यस्य इनि]. A religious student, a Brahmacārī. अथाह वर्णी । कुमार सम्भव (Bombay) 5.65, 52 ;

   वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरवे स वर्णी विचक्षणः प्रस्तुतमाचक्षते ।

   रघुवंशः (Bombay) 5.19

   ब्रह्मचारी भवेद् वर्णी । हलायुधकोशः ४००

2. छात्रः—छद् to cover and ष्ट्रन् Uṇādi affix. छत्रं गुरो र्वैं व्यावरणं शीलं अस्य। छत्र an umbrella, a screen or cover. A scholar, a pupil, a disciple, a tyro or novice.

3. मानव [मनोरपत्यं patronymic affix अण्] relating to or descended from Manu the progenitor of mankind, a man, a boy. मानव or माणव a boy ; मानव्य a multitude of boys यत् aff. of multitude, more properly माणव्य। मानव name of a Vedic School (Dict. by Carl Capp. p. 169).

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vāsī (old boys Bhāṣya II.2.18 ; I. 416) and Carakas[1] (like Post-Graduate Scholars who after finishing their studies sought higher knowledge by travelling). Vidyārthī[2], Śiṣya[3], and Śaikṣa[4] were the Sanskrit words for the students and of teachers like Upādhyāya[5], adhyāpka[6],

1. चरकः E. चर to go Uṇādi affix क्वुन्, a spy or secret emissary, a wandering mendicant, a vagarant ; a wanderer, traveller, especially a religious student (Dict. by Carl Capp. p. 169).

2. विद्या+अर्थिन् m. a student, a pupil, a scholar, desirous of learning.

3. शिष्यः (पुं०) [शिष्यतेऽसौ, √ शास्+क्यप्] a student.

4. शैक्षः (पुं०) [शिक्षा+अण्] a student who had begun to study the Veda, a novice.

5. **एकदेशमुपाध्यायः ।** याज्ञ० १।३५

उपाध्यायः—उप and अधि before इण् to go, घञ् affix, for the fem. टाप् affix in the first instance, in the second instance ङीप् with or without अनुक् inserted, m. one who teaches for livelihood, f. a female preceptor (यी or यानी) the wife of a teacher.

उपाध्यायोऽध्यापकः । अमरकोष० २।७।७

एकदेशं तु वेदस्य वेदाङ्गान्यपि वा पुनः ।
योऽध्यापयति वृत्त्यर्थमुपाध्यायः स उच्यते ॥ मनुः २।१४१

6. अध्यापकः—अध्यापनं [√ इ—णिच्-भावे-ल्युट्] Teaching, instructing, lecturing, especially on sacred knowledge. According to Indian Law-givers अध्यापन is of three kinds : (1) undertaken for charity, (2) for wages, and (3) in consideration of services rendered, cf. Hārita.

अध्यापनं च त्रिविधं धर्मार्थमृषकारणम् ।
शुश्रूषाकरणं चेति त्रिविधं परिकीर्तितम् ॥
शिक्षणं—(न०) [√ शिक्ष् + ल्युट् वा णिच् + ल्युट्]

अध्यापक :—E. अधि and इङ् to go, in the causal form (णिच्) and ण्वुल् aff. अध्यापनकर्ता, पाठ गुरुः, अध्यापयिता, a teacher, preceptor, instructor. शिक्षाकरः । अध्यापकचर :—late teacher.

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prādhyāpaka[1], pravaktā[2], guru[3], ācārya and prācārya (retired teachers) point to the different stages in the academic career.

The syllabus for the year was divided according to the seasons. A particular course of study was prescribed for each season, and the studies associated with each were named after it, *e.g. Vasanta*—Spring Lectures, *Grīṣma*—Summer Shoool, *Varṣā*,—Monsoon Lectures, *Śarad*–Autumn Lectures.

Caraṇa[4] was an educational institution. It followed a particular Śākhā text; in course of time it developed its full literature comprising Brāhmaṇa, Āranyaka and Upaniṣad texts, Kalpa or Śrauta Sūtras and later on Dharma Sūtras.

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1. प्राध्यापकः—A seasoned and qualified teacher to teach advanced students or a retired teacher, or a teacher of teachers.

2. **प्रवक्ता—अध्यापको वेदार्थं व्याख्याता ।**
   शिक्षकः—(पुं) [शिक्षका, शिक्षिका √शिक्ष्+णिच्+ण्वुल] a teacher, guru.
   शैक्षिकः—(वि०) [शिक्षा+ठक्] expert in Śikṣā-Śāstra.

3. गुरुः—गृ to sound or speak etc. Uṇādi affix कु and उ substituted for ऋ ; declaring the mode of performing the rites etc. A religious teacher, one who explains the law and religion to his pupils, and instructs them in the Śāstras.
   निषेकादिकृद् गुरुः । अमर कोष २।७।७
   निषेकादीनि कर्माणि यः करोति यथाविधि ।
   सम्भावयति चान्नेन स विप्रो गुरुरुच्यते ॥ मनुः २।१४२
   स गुरु र्यः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति । याज्ञ० १।३४

4. चरणः—णं [चर to go affix करणे ल्युट्] a sect or a school or a branch of any of the Vedas.
   चरण गुरुः—a teacher of a Vedic School. चरणगुरवः—महावीर चरित (Barodā Edition) 1. ; Māltimādhava (Bombay) 1., Pancatantra (Bombay) 4.3.

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From the point of view of educational organization, the *Caraṇas* were the bigger schools promoting the study of the entire Vedic literature and based on a fellowship of teachers and pupils and at the same time distinguished from the more restricted grammatical schools confined to the study of a particular treatise or branch of learning and functioning independently of the Caraṇas, which were organized as autonomous bodies with their own rules and regulations. It was an expression of the democratic ideal in the sphere of learning and education. It adapted the method and procedure of the *Saṁghas*[1] in their management.

Agencies of Learning

The following agencies of learning were in ancient India :—

(1) Teachers (2) Authors (3) Regular students (4) Travelling scholars (5) Educational institutions—Āśrama, Caraṇa, Vidyālaya, Śikṣālaya, (6) Learned Assemblies and Conferences, (7) Discourses, (8) Expositions aand Literature.

The Gurukula System

The Gurukula system which necessitated the stay of the student away from his home at the house of a teacher or in a boarding house of established reputation, was one of the most important features of ancient Indian education. Hindu Śāstras recommended that the student[2] should begin

1. सङ्घ n. Flock, multitude, number, a heap, a quantity in general. E. सम् before हन् to kill or hurt, aff. घञ् ।
शिक्षा or विद्या—परिषद्,—समिति,—सभा,—संस्था were the other educational bodies.

2. The student was called antevāsin which was an abbreviation of Ācāryakulavāsī (Ch. Up. II. 23) uses this expression in the case of the general student :—

द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचारी आचार्यं कुलवासी ।
आचार्यस्य वसेदन्ते कालं कृत्वा सुनिश्चितम् ॥१५॥
आचार्यः शिक्षयेदेनं स्वगृहाद् वत्तभोजनम् ।
न चान्यत् कारयेत् कर्म पुत्रवच्चैनमाचरेत् ॥१६॥
नारदीय स्मृ० ५ । १५-१६

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to live under the supervision of his teacher after his Upanayana. Direct, personal and continuous contact with a teacher of noble character naturally produced great effect on the scholar during the pliable period of childhood and adolescence. The close association with elderly scholars who had made progress in education and won the applause of their teachers, naturally induced the new entrants to emulate their example.

Agrahāra

This word denotes a village consisting only of Brāhmaṇa scholars, who were assigned its entire revenues for the purpose of their maintenance. It may, therefore, be compared to a settlement of teachers, each of them being engaged in teaching, some students free of charge. They were like modern University towns of Oxford, Cambridge or Benares Hindu University, *i.e.*, independent educational settlements, where arrangements were made for the lodging and boarding of students who flocked in hundreds and thousands. They combined the advantages both of the town and forest life. Kadiyur Agrahāra (in Karnātaka) and Sarvajña-pura Agrahāra (in Mysore) were two famous seats of learning, of well-known scholars.[1] There were other Tols or Sanskrit Schools in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. In the Ṛgveda we find :

"Let all the learned persons make this graduate of a long life." "Let this graduate be with a long life." The graduate says "I am a protector of all rules and regulations of a State like the wool of a hilly sheep."

Free Compulsory Education

Regarding the necessity and prevalence of free compulsory education in ancient India, the observation of

1. एतेषु किलाग्रहारेषु केचिज् जपन्ति । अपरे पाठयन्ति । केचित् पठन्ति । अन्ये तत्त्वविद्यामुपदिशन्ति । इतरे अध्यापयन्ति । पश्य पश्य । केरालाभरणम् ।
E. I. XVIII p. 14.

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Manu is of great significance and it can fairly be presumed that free compulsory education must have prevailed in the society to a considerable extent and its implementation must not have been treated perfunctorily. Manu observes that both the State and Society should make it compulsory upon all, to send their children (both male and female) to school after the completion of the fifth or eighth year. It should be made a penal offence to keep a child at home after that age.

Teaching System in Ancient India

The teaching system in ancient India is known through the Ṛgvedā Prātiśākhya. It is obvious in what way the teaching of the Vedic Texts was conducted at these centres of learning. The teacher sits towards east, north or north-east. When the number of students is very small *i.e.* one or two, they sit at his right hand. When the number is large, they may sit anywhere. First touching the feet of the Guru, they then request him to teach. The teacher speaks, uttering the word "Om" and puts a question in three verses. He pronounces[1] loudly so that each syllable and accent must be clearly noticed. Sometimes he repeats the words and at the end invariably adds the word "iti". The practical difficulty regarding the pronunciation of the Veda was based on the changes of the final and initial letters. The students were instructed in these euphonic rules independently through the study of the Śikṣā, but whenever a difficult case of *Sandhi* occured, the Guru used to examine the knowledge of the students and explain the difficulties. When the Guru pronounced certain compound words, the first student repeats the first word, and when anything remains to be explained, the teacher stops him and says—"Nirvācyatām, *i.e.*, explain it.". The student could continue only when he explained correctly and after

1. *Vide* Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya quoted in History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (pp. 503-6) by Max Müller.

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the permission of the teacher, with the words "Well Sir". Then another student used to come out with the word "Sir". When there is no difficulty, the rule seems to be that the Guru says two words at a time, which are then repeated by the pupil. The pupils were not dismissed till the day's lesson was finished. At the end of every lesson, the pupil was to embrace the feet of his tutor and then allowed to withdraw.

Monitorial System

In order to make personal supervision effective, the co-operation and help of advanced students was taken in the cause of education. They used to guide the studies of the juniors under the general supervision of their teachers. We find in the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras that such senior students were to be respected in the same way as the teachers. This system also existed at Taxila ; for instance, the Kuru prince Suta Soma, who acquired proficiency earlier was entrusted with the teaching of his brother prince, the heir apparent of Benares. Senior students at Taxila were often put incharge of their scholars during the temporary absence of their teachers. This method of entrusting teaching work to brilliant students had a great educational value. It placed a high incentive before the students. It afforded opportunities to intelligent students to learn the art of teaching and thus indirectly performed the same function as the Teachers' Training Colleges discharge today. It increased the efficiency and decreased the cost of the school by affording intelligent and free assistance to the teacher.

Strength of a Class

All available evidence shows that the strength of a class under one teacher was usually about 15. Nālanda used to have about a thousand teachers for its student population of not more than nine thousands. In the 11th

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century in the Vedic College at Ennayirum, each teacher had only about twenty students under his charge.[1] At Benares, usually about 12 to 15 students used to work under one teacher.[2]

Night Classes

Poor students who could not pay any honorarium to the teacher had to do a good deal of the household work for him. They usually could not be present throughout school hours during the day. Teachers used to hold night classes for their convenience. There is definite evidence to show that this practice prevailed at Taxila.[3] In normal cases classes were not held at night. Night time was often used for general religious discussions.[4]

Annual Examinations

As there was no class-system, therefore, there were no annual examinations and no mass promotions at the end of a year for the formation of fresh classes. That was a time of individual attention and teaching. The educational system ministered to the needs and individual capacity of each student. There was a daily examination of every student and no new lesson was given until the old one was thoroughly mastered.[5] Teachers used to suspend further lessons in the case of those students, who had forgotten some of the portion done earlier.[6] When a student was

1. Vide S.I.E.R. 1918, p. 145.
2. Bernier, p. 145.
3. धममन्तेवासिका आचारियस्स कम्मं कत्वा रत्तिं सिप्पमुग्गह्नन्ति, आचारियभागदायका गेहे जेट्ठ पुत्ता विय हुत्वा सिप्पमेव उग्गह्नन्ति ।
   जातकम् सं० २५२
4. अनध्यायो निशायामन्यत्र धर्मोपदेशात् शिष्येभ्यः ।
   आप० ध० सू० १।११।३२।१२
5. Mil, Pan., 1. p. 18.
6. अप्रतिभायां यावन्तं कालं न वेद तावन्तं कालं तदधीयीत ।
   स यदा जानीयादुक्तो यजुष्टः सामत इति ॥६॥
   बौधायन ध० सू० ३।६।६

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quite well up, he was given encouragement and instructed further. Clever students were not compelled to mark time for their dull companions. An intelligent and industrious student could finish his education much earlier. At the end of his education, the scholar was presented to the local learned assembly[1] or at royal sacrifices, where occasionally some questions were asked.[2] This presentation used to be after the Samārvartana Sanskāra.[3] We find in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad,[4] a very interesting passage from several points of view. When the teaching of the Veda is over, the preceptor exhorts the student :

"Speak the truth. Do your duty. Neglect not the daily study of the Veda. After having brought to your teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of progeny. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from the duty. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not miss opportunities

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1. आश्रमस्थास्त्रयो मुख्याः परिषत् स्याद् दशावराः ।
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ३।२३
चातुर्वेद्यं विकल्पो च अङ्गविद्धर्मपाठकः ।
आश्रमस्थास्त्रयो विप्राःपर्षदेषा दशावरा ॥ बौधायन ध० सू० १।१।६
बृह० उप० ३।३।१ ; ३।६।४

2. बृह० उप० ६।२।१-२

3. द्रा० गृ० सू० ३।१।२६ ; आप० गृ० सू० १।११।५

4. वेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति । सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः । आचार्याय प्रियं धनमाहृत्य प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यच्छेत्सीः । सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यम् । भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् । स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । देव पितृ कार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् । मातृदेवो भव । पितृदेवो भव । आचार्यदेवो भव । अतिथिदेवो भव । यान्यनवद्यानि कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि न इतराणि । यान्यस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि नो इतराणि । ये के चास्मच्छ्रेयांसो ब्राह्मणाः तेषां त्वयाऽसनेन प्रश्वसितव्यम् । श्रद्धया देयम् । संविदा देयम् ।

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to become great. Do not neglect the daily duties of learning and teaching the Veda. Do not neglect the sacrificial rituals due to the Gods and Fathers. Let your mother be to you, like a goddess. Let your father be to you, like a god. Let your teacher be to you, like a god. Let your guest be to you, like a god. Whatever actions are blameless, those should be followed, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be emulated by you, not others. And there are some Brāhmaṇas better than us. They should be comforted by you by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith. not without it, with joy, with modesty, with fear and kindness. If there should be any doubt in your mind, with regard to any duty or with regard to conduct, in that case, conduct yourself with Brāhmaṇas, who possess good judgment, conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, conduct yourself with Brāhmaṇas, who possess good judgment, conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. Thus conduct yourself. This is the rule. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (Upaniṣad) of the Veda. This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed."[1]

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1. श्रिया देयम् । ह्रिया देयम् । भिया देयम् । संविदा देयम् । अथ यदि ते कर्म विचिकित्सा वा वृत्त-विचिकित्सा वा स्यात् ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ता आयुक्ताः अलूक्षा धर्म्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तत्र वर्तथाः । अथाभ्याख्यातेषु ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ता आयुक्ताः अलूक्षा धर्म्मकामाः स्युः, यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तेषु वर्तेथाः । एष आदेशः । एष उपदेशः । एषा वेदोपनिषत् । एतदनुशासनम् । एवमुपासितव्यम् । एवमु चैतदुपास्यम् । तैत्तिरीय उप० १।११

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Technical Training

In ancient Sanskrit works we find the mention of 27 guilds[1], namely, (i) Cultivators, (ii) Traders, including caravan traders, (iii) Herdsmen, (iv) Money-lenders, (v) Workers in wood, (vi) Workers in metal, including gold and silver, (vii) Leather workers, (viii) Workers fabricating hydraulic engines (Odayaṃtrika), (ix) Bamboo-workers (Vasakara), (x) Braziers (Kasakara), (xi) Weavers, (xii) Potters, (xiii) Oil-millers, (xiv) Painters, (xv) Corn dealers (Dhanyaka), (xvi) Garland makers and flower-sellers, (xvii) Mariners, (xviii) Robbers and free-booters, (xix) Forest-police who guards the caravan, (xx) Workers in stone, (xxi) Ivory workers, (xxii) Jewellers, (xxiii) Rush-workers and basket-makers, (xxiv) Dyers, (xxv) Fisherfolk, (xxvi) Butchers, (xxvii) Barbers and shampooers.

When a young man desires to be initiated into the art of his own craft, with the sanction of his relations, he should go and live with a master. The duration of his apprenticeship is fixed. The master shall teach him at his own house and feed him. He must not employ him in work of different description and should treat him like a son. If one foresakes a master, who instructs him properly, he may be compelled by forcible means to remain at the master's house and he deserves corporal punishment. The profit of whatever work he may be doing there, belongs to his master.[2] There were no caste restrictions.[3] Social structure in ancient India was

1. (1-4) गौ० ध० सू० ११।२३, (5-7) जातक ६।४२७, (8) Nasika Inscription (Luders No. 1137 Ep. Ind. viii. pp. 82-86), (9-10) Junnar Inscriptions (Luders No. 1165), (11-13) Nasika Inscription (Luders No. 1137, Ep. Ind. viii., pp. 82-86), (14) Jātaka vi. 427, (15) Luders No. 1180, (16) Jātaka III. 405, (17) Jātaka iv. 137 (18) Jātaka III. 388 ; iv, 430, (19) Jātaka II 335, (20) Rhys Davids Buddhist India p. 90 ff., (21-27) *ibid.*
2. Nārada, V. 18 तत्र कर्म च यत् कुर्यादाचार्यस्यैव तत् फलम् ॥ G. D. S. II. 46-47.
3. G. D. S. VII. 6-8 : Vasiṣth D.S. II. 25 ; Manu X. 81-82.

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to a great extent independent of the Government. The social and village life and the cultural pattern of Society was not much affected by changes in the Government. Each trade, guild and family trained its children in its own profession. Differenciation of functions and their specialisation in hereditary families naturally heightened the efficiency of trades and professions and thus contributed to social efficiency.

Military Education

It appears that during the Vedic Period the military profession was a popular one, because the Āryans were engaged in subjugating the Non-Āryans (dasyus) and establishing their supremacy in the country. In ancient India, a citizen was expected to defend himself. The Arthaśāstra states that every village ought to be able to defend itself (II. 34). There were no military schools as such for this purpose. With the voluntary help of the elderly experts in the village, most of its youths could be trained in the use of the bow and the arrow, and the lance. Many villages were exempted from taxation on agreeing to supply a certain quota to the army.[1] Taxila was a great centre of military training. Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas from all over the country used to go to this city for getting mastery in the military profession. At one military centre there were 103 princes receiving training in the different branches of the military art[2], *i.e.*, elephant lore, horsemanship, cavalry training and use of weapons. In 500 B.C. many enterprising captains started private military coaching classes and supplied trained soldiers to kings and received from them lands, money, horses etc. by way of reward.[3] Kautilya's Arthaśāstra contains many references to military training. According to it, footmen, charioteers and horse and

1. Arthaśāstra IX 1.
2. Sutasoma Jātaka No. 222.
3. Mil. Pan. Vol. II, pp. 134-5.

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elephant riders shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise on all days except on the days of the conjunction of planets, on these occasions of training the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise. In the Arthaśāstra we come across with a mention of an Āyudhāgāra under a Superintendent. It was to this magazine that soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport.[1]

Medical Education

Practical training in surgery and pharmacy and constant dissection of abstruse points among the students and teachers were some of the important features of the training.[2] Caraka observes that no one can obtain a real all-round efficiency in Āyurveda. The student had to spend at least eight years. The completion of the course was followed by an examination. Śukra prohibits a person to practise as a doctor without possessing king's licence.[3] The convocation address before the medical graduates exhorted them to follow a very high ideal of professional conduct.[4] India was famous for its medical skill throughout the ancient period. Her doctors could perform surgical operations for cataract, hydrocele, abscesses, extraction of dead embryoes, etc.[5]

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1. Arthaśāstra (R. Syāma Śāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 309-10.
2. Caraka, Vimāna Sthāna 8.4.
3. Caraka, Sūtra Sthāna 29.8 ; Suśruta Sūtra Sthāna III. 52 ; X. 3 ; Śukra 1.304.
4. Caraka Saṁhitā Vimāna Sthāna 8.6-8.
5. Sītā apprehended that Rāvaṇa might kill and dissect her, limb by limb, like a surgeon extracting a dead embryo ; cf.

   तस्मिन्नागच्छति लोकनाथे गर्भस्थ जन्तोरिव शल्यकृन्तः ।
   नूनं ममांगान्यचिरादनार्यः शस्त्रैः सितैश्छेत्स्यति मानवेन्द्रः ॥
   रामायणम् ५ । २८ । ६

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We find an important passage in Caraka Saṁhitā for the medical students :

"When on getting permission, you begin to practise, you ought to make an effort to offer an adequate honorarium to your teacher. You should aim at the welfare of Brāhmaṇas, cows and all other beings with a view to win practice, prosperity and fame here and in heaven hereafter. Every day you should continuously and whole-heartedly try to promote the health of patients. Even if your own life is in danger, you should not neglect your patients. You should not entertain an evil thought about the wealth or wives of others. Your dress should be modest and not foppish. Avoid drinking, do not commit a sin, nor help one who is committing it. Your speech should be smooth, polished, truthful and to the point. Taking all facts into consideration, you should make a deliberate endeavour to increase the stock of your knowledge and instruments. Do not give medicine to those whose disease is definitely ascertained to be incurable, or to those who are about to die, or to women, if their husbands[1] or guardians are not present. Do not accept any fees from ladies without the assent of their husbands and guardians. When you enter a patient's room, all your attention should be centred on the patient, his expression, movements and medicines, to the exclusion

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1. अनुज्ञातेन प्रविचरता (त्वया) पूर्वं गुर्वर्थोपान्वा हरणे यथाशक्ति प्रयतितव्यम् । कर्मसिद्धिमर्थसिद्धिं यशोलाभं प्रेत्य च स्वर्गमिच्छता त्वया गोब्राह्मणमादौ कृत्वा सर्वप्राणभृतां शर्माशासितव्यम् । अहरहरुत्तिष्ठता चोपविशता च सर्वात्मना चातुराणामारोग्ये प्रयतितव्यम् । जीवहेतोरपि चातुरेभ्यो नाभिद्रोग्धव्यम् । मनसापि च परस्त्रियो नाभिगमनीयास्तथा च सर्वमेव परस्वम् । निभृतवेश परिच्छदेन भवितव्यम् । अशौण्डेनापापेनापाप सहायेन च श्लक्षणशुक्लधर्म्य शर्म्यधन्यसत्यहित मित वचसा देशकाल विचारिणा स्मृतिमता ज्ञानोत्थापनकरण संपत्सु नित्यं यत्नवता च न कदाचित्.....अनपवाद प्रतिकाराणां मुमूर्षाणां च तथैवासन्निहितेश्वराणां स्त्रीणामनध्यक्षाणां चौषधमनुविधातव्यम् । न च कदाचित्

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of everything else. You must treat as strictly confidential all information about the patient and his family. Where there is a danger of the patient or any of his relatives receiving a shock, you should not divulge the impending death of the patient even when you are aware of it. Though well-grounded in your line, you should not praise your knowledge much ; for some people get disgusted even with their friends and relatives if they are given to boasting. One can never get a mastery of the entire medical science, unelated, one should, therefore, pass one's time in making a constant effort to learn something more. A wise man will indeed gather something from every quarter, a fool only thinks otherwise, and shows jealousy. Taking all things into consideration, a wise physician should listen to and derive benefit from the discoveries or observations even of an enemy ; if they are calculated to promote one's fame and prosperity in this world.[1]

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1. स्त्रीदत्तमामिषमादातव्यमननुज्ञातं भर्त्राथवाध्यक्षेण । आतुरकुलं····· चानु प्रविश्य वाङ्मनो बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि न क्वचित्प्रणिधातव्याणि अन्यत्रातुरादातुरोपकारार्थादातुर गतेष्वन्येषु वा भावेषु । न चातुरकुल प्रवृत्तयो बहिर्निश्चारयितव्याः । हृसितं चायुः प्रमाणमातुरस्य न वर्णयितव्यम् जानतापि तत्र यत्रोच्यमान मातुरस्यान्यस्य वाप्युपघाताय संपद्यते । विज्ञानवतापि च नात्यर्थमात्मनो ज्ञाने विकथितव्यम् । आप्तादपि हि विकत्थ्यमानादत्यर्थमुद्विजन्त्येके । न चैव ह्यस्ति सुतरामायुर्वेदस्य पारम् । तस्मादप्रमत्तः शश्वदभियोगमिच्छन् गच्छेत्·····। कृत्स्नो हि लोको बुद्धिमतामाचार्यः । शत्रुश्चाबुद्धिमतामेव । अतश्चाभिसमीक्ष्य बुद्धिमताऽमित्रस्यापि यशस्यं·····पौष्टिकं·····लोक्यमुपदिशता । वचः श्रोतव्यमनुविधातव्यं चेति ।

चरक संहिता विमानस्थान ८ । ६-८

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From the Chāndogya[1] and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka[2] Upaniṣads we learn that the kings used to help learned Brāhmaṇas for the cultivation of knowledge. In the Mahābhārata[3] Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira : "You should please those who are receiving education according to Vedic rules with gifts of dress etc., and by employing servants for the construction of houses for them."

Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā[4] states : "Having made suitable houses in his city, the King should make the Brāhmaṇas settle there, and having granted them stipends for learning the three Vedas, he should say—'Follow your own vocation'." Such settlements of the learned in parts of towns were known as "Brahmapurī". There were seven such at

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1. तेभ्यो ह प्राप्तेभ्यः पृथगर्हाणि कारयांचकार स ह प्रातः संजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपो नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतो यक्ष्यमाणो वै भगवन्तोऽहमस्मि यावदेकैकस्मा ऋत्विजे धनं दास्यामि तावद् भगवद्भ्यो दास्यामि वसन्तु भगवन्त इति ॥

छान्दोग्य उप० ५ । ११ । ५

2. (i) हृप्त बालाकि र्हानूचानो गार्ग्य आस स होवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्यप ! ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति स होवाचाजातशत्रुः सहस्रमेतस्यां वाचि दद्मो जनको जनक इति वै जना धावन्तीति ॥ बृहदा० उप० २।१।१

(ii) जनको ह वैदेहो बहु दक्षिणेन यज्ञेनेजे तत्र ह कुरुपञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणा अभिसमेता बभूवुस्तस्य ह जनकस्य वैदेहस्य विजिज्ञासा बभूव कः स्विदेषां ब्राह्मणानामनूचानतम इति स ह गवाप्यँ सहस्रमवरुरोध दश दश पादा एकैकस्याः शृङ्ग्योराबद्धा बभूवुः ॥ बृहदा० उप० ३।१।१

3. विद्यावेदव्रत स्नातानव्यपाश्रय जीविनः ॥११॥
गूढ स्वाध्याय तपसो ब्राह्मणान् संशितव्रतान् ।
कृतैरावसथै र्हृद्यैः सप्रेष्यैः सपरिच्छदैः ॥१२॥
निमन्त्रयेथाः कौरव्य कामैश्चान्यै द्विजोत्तमान् ।

महाभारते अनुशासन प० ६०।११-१३

4. Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā II. 188.

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Belgame, one of which had thirty-eight Brāhmaṇa families, cultivating linguistics and letters.[1] Similarly, the village of Niranthanian is styled "Brahmapurī" in an inscription of Madhurāntaka Potappi Chola Nallam Sittararaśa who restores a grant made by Vatsarāja.[2] Kalhaṇa refers to King Jaysiṃha of Kaśmere as building houses for men of learning which "raise their terraces to such a height that the seven ṛṣis come to see them as they are towering above their heads."[3] Kautilya says : "Brāhmaṇas shall be provided with forests for religious learning, such forests being rendered safe from the dangers from animate and inanimate objects and being named after the tribal names (gotra) of the Brāhmaṇas resident therein."[4] Again, "those learned in the Vedas shall be granted "Brahmadeya lands" yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines.[5] Such a grant of land to learned men was known as "*Bhattavrtti*" referred to in many South Indian Inscriptions.[6] From Raghuvaṃśam we learn that King Kuśa gave over the whole of "Kuśavati" to Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas.[7] In the Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma says to King Yudhiṣṭhira : "It is highly obligatory to grant stipends to Brāhmaṇas who are well versed in the Śāstras and follow the Vedānta.[8]" "All kinds of teachers and learned men," states Kautilya,

1. Ep. Carn. VII (Sk.), 123.
2. Madras Ep. Rep. for 1919, No. 570 (Cudappa).
3. Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 185.
4. Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāma Śāstri's Eng. Trans.) p. 55.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 52
6. Ep. Ind. XV. 250, S. I. Ins., 1. p. 91.
7. कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्कृत्वा यात्राऽनुकूलेऽहनि सावरोधः ।
   अनुद्रुतो वायुरिवाभ्रवृन्दैः सैन्यैः रयोध्याऽभिमुखः प्रतस्थे ॥ रघुवंश १६।२५
8. वेदान्तनिष्ठस्य बहुश्रुतस्य, प्रज्ञानतृप्तस्य जितेन्द्रियस्य ।
   शिष्टस्य दान्तस्य यतस्य चैव, भूतेषु नित्यं प्रियवादिनश्च ॥२०॥
   यक्षभयाद् वै न विकर्म कुर्यात् मृदुश्च शान्तो ह्यतिथिप्रियश्च ।
   वृत्तिं द्विजायातिसृजेत् तस्मै, यस्तुल्यशीलश्च सपुत्रदारः ॥२१॥
   महाभारते अनुशासन पर्व० ६९ अ०

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"shall have honorarium ranging from 500 to 1000 paṇas according to their merit."[1] According to Manu, the king shall always provide for a Śrotriya.[2] Again, "Let the king make gifts of all kinds of gems as well as of fees for religious sacrifices to these Brāhmaṇas and to those who are well-versed in the Vedas."[3] In the Mahābhārata, we are told: "It is the bounden duty of kings to respect Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas."[4] In the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra it is remarked, that "whatever he (a student) obtains, he should bring to his teacher, he shall go begging with a vessel in the morning and in the evening, and he may beg from every body except low-caste people unfit for association with Āryas and Abhiśastas." A Brāhmaṇa declares; Since a devout student takes away from women, who refuse to give him alms, the merit gained by sacrifices, by gifts and by offerings, as well as their off-spring, their cattle, the sacred learning of their families, therefore, indeed, a woman should not refuse alms to the crowd of students; for amongst those who come to beg, there might be one of that devout kind, one who thus conscientiously keeps his vow."[5]

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1. Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāma Śāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 308.
2. श्रोत्रियं व्याधितार्त्तों च बालवृद्धाव किंचनम् ।
   महाकुलीनमार्यं च राजा सम्पूजयेत् सदा ॥ मनु० ८।३९५
3. सर्वरत्नानि राजा तु यथार्हं प्रतिपादयेत् ।
   ब्राह्मणान् वेद विदुषो यज्ञार्थं चैव दक्षिणाम् ॥ मनु० ११।४
4. कर्तव्यं पार्थिवेन्द्रेण तथैव भरतर्षभ ।
   श्रोत्रियान् ब्राह्मणान् वृद्धान् नित्यमेवाभिपूजयेत् ॥३॥
   महाभारते अनुशासन पर्व अ० ३३
5. सर्वं लाभमाहरन् गुरवे सायं प्रातरमन्त्रेण भिक्षाचर्यं
   चरेद् भिक्षमाणोऽन्यत्रापपात्रेभ्योऽभिशस्ताच् च ॥२५॥
   स्त्रीणां प्रत्याचक्षाणानाँ समाहितो ब्रह्मचारीष्टं दत्तं
   हुतं प्रजां पशून् ब्रह्मवर्चसमन्नाद्यं वृङ्क्ते ।
   तस्मादु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसंघं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि
   हैष्वेवंविध एवं व्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥२६॥
   आपस्तम्ब धर्म सूत्रे १।१।३।२५-२६

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In ancient India teaching was considered to be a holy duty which a Brāhmaṇa was bound to discharge irrespective of the consideration of the fee. In order to bring education within the reach of the poorest, it not only permitted students to beg, but elevated begging itself in the highest duty of the student life. Teachers were expected to devote their lives to the cause of teaching in the missionary spirit of self-sacrifice, and the society laid down the principle that both the public and the State should help the learned teachers and educational institutions very liberally. Fee was a minor item in the income of a private teacher and did not figure at all in the budgets of public colleges and universities in ancient India. Society realized that Vidyā dāna or the gift in the cause of education was to be the best of gifts, possessing a higher religious efficacy than even the gift of land.[1] Religion had a great hold over the public mind in ancient times. Society was always anxious to help the cause of free education to all in a variety of ways. It was considered to be the greatest of sins, if a student goes away without a morsel of food from the door at midday.[2] On the occasion of religious feasts students and teachers were invited and donations were given liberally (Jātaka No. 498). There were free feeding houses for the poor in general and the students in particular. Well-to-do persons were expected to pay the maximum they could to the teachers.

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1. सहस्रसंमिता धेनुरनड्वान् दशधेनवः ।
दशानुड्त्समं यानं दशयानसमं हयः ॥
दशवाजिसमा कन्या भूमिदानं च तत्समम् ।
भूमिदानात् परं नास्ति, विद्यादानं ततोऽधिकम् ॥
बृहस्पति quoted in SCS p. 145.

2. स्त्रीणां प्रत्याचक्षाणां समाहितो ब्रह्मचारी इष्टं दत्तं हुतं प्रजां पशून् ब्रह्मवर्चसमन्नाद्यं वृङ्क्ते ।
तस्माद्वु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसंघं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैष्वेवंविध एवं व्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥२६॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।३।२६ तथा च गोपथ ब्रा० २।५।७

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Government gave them land grants and pensions and helped them generously. Governments, kings, rulers, landlords, all and one, helped the cause of learning directly and indirectly in ancient India. Laws were so framed as to help and to keep the lamp of learning burning.

The Concept of Vidyā

Vidyā[1] comes from the root *vid* (to know), *i.e.*, it therefore means knowledge, science, learning, lore, education, scholarship and philosophy. According to some, there are four Vidyās or sciences—1. trayī, the triple Veda ; 2. ānvikśikī, logic and meta-physics ; 3. daṇḍa-nīti, the science of government ; 4. Vārtta, practical arts, such as agriculture, commerce, medicine, etc. ; Manu (vii. 43) adds a fifth *viz.*, ātma-vidyā, knowledge of soul or of spiritual truth. According to others, Vidyās are fourteen in number, *viz.*, the four Vedas, the six Vedāngas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmānsā, Nyāya and Dharma or law ; or with the four Up-vedas, eighteen divisions ; others reckon 33 and even 64 sciences (kalās or arts). Besides these, we find innumerable references to the supreme or highest knowledge technically called parā-vidyā as distinguished from all other knowledge termed aparā, (*vide*, Muṇḍakopaniṣad I. 1.4.)

Ancient educationists considered knowledge as the third eye of man, which gives him insight into all affairs

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1. **विद्या-विद्या वै धिषणा ।** तै० ३।२।२।२

विद्या ह वै ब्राह्मण मा जगाम । तवाऽहमास्मि त्वं मा पालयस्वाऽनर्हते मानिने नैव मा दा गोपाय मा श्रेयसे ते ऽहमस्मीति विद्यया सह म्रियेत न विद्यामूषरे वपेद् ब्रह्मचारी धनदायी मेधावी श्रोत्रियः प्रियो विद्यया वा विद्यां यः प्राह तानि तीर्थानि पण्ममेति । निरुक्ते अ० २ खं० ४ ॥ मनुः २।११२-११५ ॥ संहितो० खं० ३ ॥

विद्या नाम नरस्य रूपमधिकं प्रच्छन्न गुप्तं धनम् । नीति शतकम् सं० २०

शिक्षा (स्त्री०) [√ शिक्ष्+अ+टाप्] Learning education.

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and teaches him how to act.[1] Nothing gives us such an unfailing insight as Vidyā ;[2] in the spiritual sphere, it leads us to our salvation, in the mundane sphere it leads us to all-round progress and prosperity. The illumination given to us by Vidyā shatters illusions, removes difficulties and enables us to realize the true value of life. A person who does not possess the light of education, may be really described as blind.[3] The correct insight, which men and women get from Vidyā, naturally increases their intelligence, power and efficiency. Ancient Indians have emphatically averred that intellect, as developed and refined by Vidyā, is the real power in this world.[4] The uses of Vidyā are too diverse to be enumerated exhaustively; it nourishes us like the mother, directs us to the proper path like the father, and gives us delight and comfort like the wife.[5] It increases our fame, destroys our difficulties and makes us purer and more cultured. When we are in the solitude of a journey, or of a foreign country, it serves us

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1. ज्ञानं तृतीयं मनुजस्य नेत्रं समस्त तत्त्वार्थ विलोकदक्षम् ।
सुभाषित रत्न सन्दोह पृ० १९४

2. नास्ति विद्या समं चक्षुः,
नास्ति सत्यसमं तपः । महाभारते XII 339.6.

3. अनेक संशयोच्छेदि परोक्षार्थस्य दर्शकम् ।
सर्वस्य लोचनं शास्त्रं यस्य नास्त्यन्ध एव सः ॥
सुभाषित रत्न भाण्डागार पृ० ३०।२

4. बुद्धिर्यस्य बलं तस्य ।

5. मातेव रक्षति पितेव हिते नियुंक्ते,
कान्तेव चापि रमयत्यपनीय खेदम् ।
लक्ष्मीं तनोति वितनोति च दिक्षु कीर्ति,
किं किं न साधयति कल्पलतेव विद्या ॥ सु० र० भा० पृ० ३१।१४

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as a valued companion. It is thus a veritable desire-yielding tree.[1]

Kalhana states: "The tree of learning which is ever laughed at by fools, does, indeed, not show roots, blossoms and the like but bears its fruit at the time of distress by removing a man's misfortunes at one stroke."[2] In the Mahābhārata we find: "Learning, bravery, skill, physical power and patience are the natural friends of a man. Through their help alone can one live happily."[3] Gautama states: "Wealth, connections (rich friends), office, birth, deeds, *knowledge* and age are the factors which primarily add to the respectability of a person. But knowledge is the highest of them all, in as much as it is the source of health and virtues."[4] Manu says: "Neither by years (age) nor by grey hair, neither by wealth nor by friends, does one become great."[5] He further states that "Grey hair do not make a man old; a young man who has studied well,

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1. श्रियः प्रदग्धं विपदं रुणद्धि,
   यशांसि सूते मलिनं प्रमार्ष्टि।
   संस्कार शौचेन नरं पुनीते,
   शुद्धा हि बुद्धिः किल कल्पधेनुः॥
   विद्या बन्धुजनो विदेश गमने।
   सु० र० भा० पृ० ३१।१२ नीति शतकम् १६
2. Rājatar. IV. 530, Śtein, 1. pp. 170-71.
3. विद्या शौर्यं च दाक्ष्यं च बलं धैर्यं च पञ्चमम्।
   मित्राणि सहजान्याहुर्वर्तयन्तीह तै र्बुधाः॥
   महाभारते शान्ति० १३९।८५
4. वित्त बन्धु कर्म जाति विद्या वयांसि मान्यानि ॥२०॥
   पर वलीयांसि ॥२१॥
   श्रुतं तु सर्वेभ्यो गरीयः ॥२२॥
   गौ० ध० सू० ६।२०-२२
5. न हायनैर्न पलितैर्न वित्तेन न बन्धुभिः।
   ऋषयश्चक्रिरे धर्मं योऽनूचानः स नो महान्॥ मनु० २।१५४

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is alone considered to be really old by the learned gentry."[1] Even a little study of the Vedas makes a twice-born reader stand in good stead in this world and the next.[2] By studying all the Vedas one is immediately freed from sorrow.[3] Viṣṇu remarks: "One must make way for an aged man, for one carrying a load, for a king, for a snātaka, for a sick-man, for a woman, for a bride-groom and for a carter. All of these persons (meeting together) must make way for a king, and even a king must make way for a snātaka."[4] The following verse is a common saying in India:

Svadeśe pūjyate rājā,
Vidvān sarvatra pujyate.

A king is respected in his own kingdom while a learned man is worshipped everywhere. The Hindu law-givers go even so far as to lay down that the very sight of a learned man is sacred. Thus states Parāśara: "Holy is the sight of a Brāmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas; hence one should try to see him everyday."[5] Thus Vidyā was considered to be the root of all human happiness, increasing our efficiency and enabling us to get fame and wealth by securing respect in public assemblies and royal courts. The wealth thus acquired not only leads to happiness, but also enables to perform meritorious deeds of public utility and discharge all sorts of religious duties. Vidyā thus promotes our

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1. न तेन वृद्धो भवति येनास्य पलितं शिरः।
यो वै युवाप्यधीयानस्तं देवाः स्थविरं विदुः॥ मनु० २।१५६

2. अनेन विधिनाऽधीतो वेदमन्त्रो द्विजं नयेत्॥ व्यास स्मृ० १।३६

3. अधीत्य सर्ववेदान् वै सद्यो दुःखात् प्रमुच्यते॥ बृह० स्मृ० १।७६

4. वृद्ध भारि नृप स्नात स्त्री रोगि वर चक्रिणाम्।
पन्था देयो नृपस्त्वेषां मान्यः स्नातश्च भूपतेः॥ विष्णु स्मृ० ६३।५०-५१

5. अग्निचित् कपिला सत्री राजा भिक्षुर्महोदधिः।
दृष्टमात्रं पुनन्त्येते तस्मात् पश्येत्तु नित्यशः॥ पराशर स्मृ० १२।४१

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material as well as spiritual welfare, both in this as well as in the after-life.[1]

The illumination, insight and guidance provided to us by Vidyā effects a complete transformation. One human being is superior to another, not because he possesses an extra hand or eye, but because his mind and intellect are sharpened and rendered more efficient by Vidyā.[2] Devoid of Vidyā, we are mere beasts[3]; Vidyā elevates us into human beings. Life without Vidyā is, therefore, utterly futile and worthless.[4] It is said that a Brāhmaṇa continues to remain a Śūdra till he receives proper education.[5] Education removes our prejudices and makes us comprehend the diverse view-points.[6] It sharpens the intellect, improves the grasping power and develops the faculty of discrimination and thus protects us from falling into errors.[7] It strengthens our moral nature and enables us to stand the severest temptations of life.

Mere book-learning was not regarded to be education. It has been pointed out that a man may have studied different branches of knowledge and yet remain uneducated, if he has not developed an insight as a result of his studies.

Vidyā and Culture

The student was considered to be the custodian and torch-bearer of culture. The welfare of society depended

1. विद्या तु वंदुष्यमुपार्जयन्ती जागर्ति लोकद्वयसाधनाय ॥
2. अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायो मनो जवेषु असमा बभूवुः। ऋग् १०।७१।७
3. विद्याविहीनः पशुः। नीतिशतकम् १६
4. शुनः पुच्छमिव व्यर्थं जीवितं विद्यया विना।
   न गुह्यगोपने शक्तं न च दंशनिवारणे ॥ सु० र० भा० पृ० ३१।१८
5. जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद् द्विज उच्यते।
   विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते ॥
6. अज्ञः सुखमाराध्याः सुखतरमाराध्यते विशेषज्ञः। नीतिशतकम् २
7. यस्य नास्ति विवेकस्तु केवलं यो बहुश्रुतः।
   न स जानाति शास्त्रार्थान् दर्वीपाकरसानिव ॥ सु० र० भा० पृ० ४१।१८

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upon the proper discharge of his duties by him. The success of a warrior in the battle-field, or that of a king as a ruler, was thought to be due to his proper education and training. Stress was laid on social duties. The graduate was not to lead a self-centred life, but teach his lore to the rising generation even in the absence of any prospect of receiving a fee. He was to perform his duties as a son, a husband and a father conscientiously and efficiently.

The preservation and spread of national heritage and culture was one of the most important objects of Education. Every Āryan had to learn at least a portion of his sacred literary heritage. It was the incumbent duty of the priestly class to commit the whole of the Vedic literature to memory in order to ensure its transmission to future generations. A section of the Brāhmaṇa community was always available to sacrifice its life and talents in order to ensure the preservation of the sacred texts. Theirs was a life-long and singular devotion to the cause of learning.

Education in ancient India not only emphasised devotion to social duties but also laid stress on the promotion of social happiness. No nation can be called educated which cannot preserve and expand its cultural heritage. Our education enabled us to do this for several centuries. The education was thorough in the different branches. Steps were taken to realize the ideal of the man and the society. Education was an important item of culture.[1] It was declared that a man can discharge his debt to ancestors not merely by procreating sons but by providing for their proper education.[2]

Thus, Vidyā was regarded as a source of illumination and power, which transforms and ennobles our nature by

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1. अशुश्रूषा त्वरा श्लाघा विद्यायाः शत्रवस्त्रयः। महाभारते ५।४०।४
2. तस्मात् पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुस्तस्मादेनमनुशास्ति। बृ० उ० १।५।७

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the progressive and harmonious development of our physical, mental, intellectual and spiritual powers and faculties. It thus enables us to live as decent and useful citizens of society and indirectly helps us to make progress in the spiritual sphere, both in this life and the life to come.

The Teacher

(A) *Three kinds of Teachers*

We find three kinds of teachers in ancient India, *i.e.*, (1) Guru, (2) Acārya and (3) Upādhyāya. He is called "Guru" who having performed all the rites (beginning with Garbhādhānam) delivers instructions in the Vedas.[1] The "Ācārya" is defined by Manu[2] to be one who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the kalpa and the Rahasyas, *i.e.*, the secret portions of the Upniṣads or the extremely secret explanations of the Veda and Aṅgas. According to Gautama,[3] the title Ācārya belongs to one who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda. According to Viṣṇu[4] an Ācārya is he who having initiated a pupil instructs him in the Vratas, teaches him one branch of the Veda, together with its Aṅgas. Vasiṣṭha[5], however, insists on the teaching of the whole Veda for the "Ācārya". According to Yājñavalkya an Ācārya teaches the Vedas after having performed only the ceremony of Upanayana. An Ācārya is ten times more venerable than an Upādhyāya.[6]

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1. स गुरु र्यः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति ।
   उपनीय ददद्वेदमाचार्यः स उदाहृतः ॥ याज्ञ० १।३४
2. मनुः २।१४०
3. तद् यस्मात् स आचार्यः ॥११॥ वेदानुवचनाच्च ॥
   गौ० ध० सू० १।११-१२
4. यस्तूपनीय व्रतादेशं कृत्वा वेदमध्यापयेत्तमाचार्यं विद्यात् । विष्णु २९।१
5. उपनीय तु यः कृत्स्नं वेदमध्यापयेत् स आचार्यः । वसिष्ठ० ३।२४
6. उपाध्यायात् दशाचार्यः । मनु० २।१४५; वसिष्ठ० १३।१७

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He is chief among all Gurus.[1] He is called "Ati-Guru", along with the father and mother.[2] An "Upādhyāya" is he, who teaches only a portion of the Vedas.[3] According to Viṣṇu,[4] he who teaches an entire Veda in consideration of fees or a portion of the Veda without fees is called an Upādhyāya. Manu[5] says that he who in consideration of fees, teaches a portion of the Veda and any of the Vedāṅgas is said to be an Upādhyāya (sub-teacher). He takes something from his pupils for his livelihood. Generally, a teacher was called "Guru",[6] which means 'heavy' or 'great' and he was to be really great in learning and moral conduct. He was also called "Ācāryaḥ"[7] which comes from the word "car" to behave and means—'one who trains up others in good behaviour' (ācāraṃ grāhayati iti ācāryaḥ); it is also taken by some to mean the source of all religion (dharmān ācinoti iti ācāryaḥ).[8] In either sense the teacher was expected to train the pupils in good behaviour—the essence of religion and naturally to possess those qualities himself. The Muṇḍakopniṣad[9] asks the teacher to be a Śrotriya (i.e. one whose ancestors had been Vedic Scholars for atleast three generations) and brahma-niṣṭha (dwelling entirely in the

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1. आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरूणाम् । गौ० ध० सू० २।५७
2. त्रयः पुरुषस्यातिगुरवो भवन्ति । माता पिता आचार्यश्च । विष्णु० ३१।१-२
3. एकदेशमुपाध्यायः । याज्ञ० १।३५
4. यस्त्वेनमल्पेनाध्यापयेत् तमुपाध्यापमेका देशं वा । विष्णु० २९।२
5. मनु० २।१४१
6. अल्पं वा बहु वा यस्य श्रुतस्योपकरोति यः ।
   तमपि इह गुरुं विद्यात् श्रुतोपक्रियया तथा ॥ मनु० २।१४९
7. आचार्यस्तु वेदपारगः । मनु० २।१४८
   विप्राणां ज्ञानतो ज्यैष्ठ्यम् ॥ मनु० १।१५५
   आचार्यो ब्रह्मणो मूर्त्तिः । मनु० २।२२६
8. यस्माद् धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः ।
   आप० ध० सू० १।१।१।१४; यास्क० पृ०
9. श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् । मुण्डक० १।२।१२

डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय
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Brahman). The Prātiśākhya[1] of the Ṛgveda gives us some idea of the intellectual qualifications of a teacher : "He himself must have passed through the recognized curriculum and fulfilled all the duties of the brahmacārin, before he is allowed to become a teacher." He must come of a family of Vedic teachers[2] and should have the highest knowledge.[3]

Brāhmaṇa and Non-Brāhmaṇa Teachers.

Dr. Narendra Nath[4] writes—"The Brāhmaṇas were not merely teachers of theology and philosophy but also of Economics, Polity including even the art of warfare and use of weapons, also practical and fine arts and accomplishments." In course of time teaching the Veda came to be the exclusive duty of the Brāhmaṇas. In Harita[5] and Manu[6] we find that the Brāhmaṇas alone are entitled to give instructions in the Vedas. Manu[7] explicitly says: "The Brāhmaṇas alone shall teach the Vedas and none else. This

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1. प्रातिशाख्य (ऋग्वेदीय) । अ० १५

2. तस्मिन्नभिजन विद्यासमुदेतं समाहितं सँस्कर्तारमीप्सेत् ॥
आप० ध० सू० १।१।१।१२

3. ते हैते ब्रह्मपरा ब्रह्मनिष्ठाः परं ब्रह्मन्वेषमाणाः एष ह वै तत् सर्वं वक्ष्यतीति ते ह समित्पाणयो भगवन्तं पिप्पलादमुपसन्नाः ॥
प्रश्नोप० १।१

4. Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 240.

5. अध्यापनं चाध्ययनं याजनं यजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति षट् कर्माणीति चोच्यते ॥ हारीत० १।१८

6. (i) ब्राह्मणस्यैव कर्मैतदुपदिष्टं मनीषिभिः ।
राजन्यवैश्ययोस्त्वेवं नैतत् कर्मविधीयते ॥ मनु० २।१९०
(ii) अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव ब्राह्मणानामकल्पयत् ॥ मनु० १।८८

7. अधीयीरंस्त्रयो वर्णाः स्वकर्मस्थाः द्विजातयः ।
प्रब्रूयाद् ब्राह्मणस्त्वेषां नेतराविति निश्चयः ॥ मनु० १०।१

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is the conclusion." Alberuni[1] says : "The Brāhmaṇas teach the Vedas to the Kṣatriyas. The latter learn it, but are not allowed to teach it, not even to a Brāhmaṇa."

It is declared in the Smṛtis that a Brāhmaṇa alone should be chosen as teacher or spiritual guide.[2] But Bandhāyana[3] permits study under a non-Brāhmaṇa teacher in times of distress. This is confirmed by Āpastamba[4] who states that in times of distress a Brāhmaṇa may study under a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya and also by Gautama.[5] Such a non-Brāhmaṇa teacher was to be paid due honour by the Brāhmaṇa student throughout the long period of his studentship. He must walk behind him and obey him. The same injunction is also given by Manu[6] *i.e.* he shall walk behind and serve such a teacher as long as the instruction lasts. The availability of non-Brāhmaṇa teachers in the country was, of course, due to the system which freely admitted them to the Brāhmaṇical schools and made education compulsory for all. It will not be out of place to refer to the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads where kings like Janaka, Ajātaśatru, Aśvapati or Jaivāli appear as teachers. The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā[7] prescribing a ceremony by which a non-Brāhmaṇa who had mastered the Vedas but was not living well in life could achieve his due reputation and affluence by rituals prescribed for the non-Brāhmaṇas to

1. Sachau's Eng. Translation, Vol. I, p. 125.
2. ब्राह्मणः आचार्यः स्मर्यते तु । आप० ध० सू० २।२।४।२४
3. अब्राह्मणादध्ययनमापदि ॥४०॥
   शुश्रूषाऽनुव्रज्या च यावदध्ययनम् ॥४१॥ बौध० ध० सू० १।२।४०-४१
4. आपदि ब्राह्मणेन राजन्ये वैश्ये वाध्ययनम् । आप० ध० सू० २।२।४।२५
5. आपत्कल्पो ब्राह्मणस्या ब्राह्मणाद् विद्योपयोगः ॥ गौतम ध० सू०७।१
6. अब्राह्मणादध्ययनमापत् काले विधीयते ।
   अनुव्रज्या च शुश्रूषा यावदध्ययनं गुरोः ॥ मनु० २।२४१
7. काठक संहिता ६।१६

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shine as vedic teachers.[1] Some Kṣatriyas figure among the composers of Vedic hymns also, the whole of the third book of Ṛgveda is a composition of the various members of the Kṣatriya Viśvamitra family. In the Upaniṣad period Kṣatriyas took an important part in the development of philosophy and were the exclusive custodians of many esoteric doctrines, which Brāhmaṇas could learn only from them and without any difficulty.[2] There are several cases of Brāhmaṇas approaching renowned Kṣatriya teachers like Āśvapati, Janaka, Pravāhaṇa and Jaivāli as humble students of philosophy and religion.

At the same time, we find Brāhmaṇas as teachers of non-Vedic subjects. The Pāṇḍva and Kaurava heroes, who fought so bravely in the Mahābhārata war, were not trained by any Kṣatriya teacher; the preceptor, Droṇācārya was a Brāhmaṇa. Brāhmaṇas as trainers of horses and elephants, are also mentioned by Manu[1]. Jātakas also show that at Taxila, Brāhmaṇas used to impart education in several practical professions like the military art, medicine, surgery, snake charming, etc., both to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.[2]

Plurality of Teachers

The Dharma Sūtras point to a plurality of teachers for the student. Young Brāhmaṇas used to go from one teacher to the other, learning from each what he knew. Each

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1. योऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामानूच्य नैव रोचते स एतांश्चतुर्होतॄन् व्याचक्षीत् ।
एतद्वै देवानां ब्रह्मनिरुक्तं यच्चतुर्होतारस्तदेनं निरुच्यमानं प्रकाशं गमयति ॥
काठक संहिता ६।१६

2. छान्दोग्योप० ५।३।७ ; बृह० उ० २।१।१५

3. हस्तिगोऽश्वोष्ट्रदमको नक्षत्रैर्यश्च जीवति ।
पक्षिणां पोषको यश्च युद्धाचार्यस्तथैव च ॥ मनु० ३।१६२

4. सत्यकामो ह जाबालो जबालां मातरमामन्त्र्यां चक्रे ।
ब्रह्मचर्यं भवति ! विवत्स्यामि किं गोत्रोऽहमस्मीति ॥
छान्दोग्योप० ४।४।१

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teacher would know and teach only one Veda and a student would have to learn all the four Vedas from different teachers. This is evident from the following passage of Āpastamba[1] : "If a pupil has more than one teacher, the alms collected by him are at the disposal of him to whom he is just then bound."[2] It further states : "attending to two teachers," while according to another Sūtra[3] the student is permitted in the event of the incompetence of his teacher, "to go to another and study there."

Indispensability of Teachers

In the Kaṭhopaniṣad[4], the teacher is represented as indispensible to knowledge. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad[5] states : "Let him, in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a 'Guru'—who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman." The importance, which in modern times, is attached to the institution or the *Alma Mater* was in ancient days attached to the teacher. The person who takes charge of immature children and makes them worthy and useful citizens in society was naturally held in high reverence. It was the function of the teacher to lead the student from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge. The lamp of learning is concealed under a cover, says one educationist ; the teacher removes it and lets out the light.[6]

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1. गुरुसमवाये भिक्षायामुत्पन्नायां यमनबद्धस्तदधीना भिक्षा ॥
आप० ध० सू० १।२।७।१४
2. अन्तेवास्यनन्तेवासी भवति विनिहितात्मा गुरावनंपुणमापद्यमानः ॥
आप० ध० सू० १।२।८।२६
3. शास्तुश्चानागमाद् वृत्तिरन्यत्र ॥ आप० ध० सू० १।२।७।२६
4. न नरेणावरेण प्रोक्त एष सुविज्ञेयो बहुधा चिन्त्यमानः । कठोप० २।८
5. तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ।
मुण्डकोप० १।२।१२
6. यथा घटप्रतिच्छन्ना रत्न राजा महा प्रभाः ।
अकिंचित् करतां प्राप्तास्तद्विद् विद्याश्चतुर्दश ॥
अपरार्कटीकायाम् (याज्ञ० १।२१२)

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The student, therefore, should be very grateful to him and show him the highest possible reverence. From the Vedic age downwards, the teacher has been all along designated as the spiritual and intellectual father of the student.[1] Since the earliest times the Vedic learning was being transmitted orally from one generation to another. Great importance was attached to the proper accent and pronunciation in the Vedic recitation and these could be correctly learnt only from the lips of a properly qualified teacher, and the spiritual salvation,[2] depends almost entirely upon the proper guidance of a competent teacher. Books being dear and rare, the student had to rely upon his teacher alone.[3] A sympathetic teacher unreservedly places at the disposal of his pupil the essence of all his experience. Therefore, he deserves the highest regard and respect from his students and the society.

Income of the Teacher

There was no fixed income to a teacher in ancient India. He used to be a priest. His income consisted of presents obtained by him partly on the occasions of festivals, religious ceremonies and sacrifices and partly of voluntary gifts given by the students.

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1. (i) आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । अथर्व० ११।५।३
   (ii) तत्रास्य माता सावित्री पिता त्वाचार्य उच्यते । मनु० २।१७०
2. (i) नैषा मतिस्तर्केणापनेया प्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ । केनोप० ११।९
   (ii) तद्विज्ञानाय गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ।
   मुण्डको० १।२।३
3. पुस्तक प्रत्ययाधीतं नाधीतं गुरुसन्निधौ ।
   भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव स्त्रियः ।।
   Narada quoted by Pa. Mad., at 1.38.

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In the later period, in South India, the annual salary of teachers varied according to their qualifications and subjects from 160 to 200 maunds of rice.[1]

According to Gautama Dharma Sūtra, on completion of the education, the teacher must be offered a fee (Dakṣiṇā) ; only after that the student was allowed to go. It is noteworthy that under diverse circumstances, teachers were allowed to perform sacrifices, to teach and to accept presents from all the four castes.[2]

Having studied various branches of sacred learning, the student was to procure the fee for his teachers, according to his status. During distress and adversity, the teacher could accept the Dakṣiṇā from an Ugra or a Śūdra.[3]

However, any stipulation for fees was vehemently condemned and no student was to be refused admission even by a private teacher simply because he was too poor to

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1. S.I.E.R. 1917 No. 333. The total cost of one good meal for one year was about 8 maunds of rice. The salaries above-mentioned were given in the College at Ennayiram; in other institutions they were sometimes different. Sometimes inscriptions disclose that the Vedic teachers used to get only 30 maunds of rice per annum ; in such cases they were probably part-time teachers and were expected to supplement their income from the proceeds of the priestly profession.

2. विद्यान्ते गुरुरर्थेन निमन्त्र्यः ॥ गौ० ध० सू० २।५५

   याजनाध्यापन प्रतिग्रहास्सर्वेषाम् ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ७।४

3. कृत्वा विद्यां यावतीं शक्नुयाद् वेददक्षिणामाहरेद्धर्मतो यथाशक्ति ॥
   आप० ध० सू० १।२।७।१९

   विषमगते त्वाचार्य उग्रतः शूद्रतो वाहरेत् ॥
   आप० ध० सू० १।२।७।२०

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pay any fees. The study of Mālvikāgnimitra,[1] Viṣṇu Purāṇa[2] and Saura Purāṇa[3] indicates that a teacher guilty of this misdemeanour was declared to be unfit to officiate at religious ceremonies and was held to obloquy as a mere trafficker in learning. It was held that the cause of education was a sacred one ; every teacher qualified to teach must teach as a matter of duty. The students were provided free boarding, lodging, clothing and medicines. The guardian was asked to note that no object in the universe, howsoever precious it may be, can be regarded as an adequate fee for even that humble teacher, who teaches a single letter of alphabet.[4] It was the duty of the Brāhmaṇas, who were the custodians of ancient culture and learning, to teach all qualified students free of any charge. The Mahābhārata condemns teaching for fee and holds that those who accept remuneration for teaching should be designated as equal to a Śūdra.[5]

We have already seen that the Ācārya did not accept any remuneration for his work. He did the work of teaching as a part of his religious duty. The admission of a pupil was not a source of income to the teacher but an addition of a member to his family. The teacher and the pupil were not related to each other by the "cash-nexus"

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1. यस्यागमः केवल जीविकायै तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति ।
   मालविकाग्निमित्रम् १।१७
2. यश्च विद्यामासाद्य अस्मिन्लोके तथा
   सह जीवेन्न सा तस्य फलप्रदा भवेत् । विष्णु पुराणे ३०।३६
3. The Saura Purāṇa condemns such a teacher to hell.
   X. 42
4. एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्ये निवेदयेत् ।
   पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद् द्रव्यं यद् दत्वाऽनृणी भवेत् ॥
   लघु हारीत् in Par. Mad. i. ii. p. 53.
5. विद्योपजीविनो ऽन्नं च यो भुङ्क्ते साधुसम्मतः ।
   तदप्यन्नं यथा शौद्रं तत् साधुः परिवर्जयेत् ॥
   महाभारते अनुशासन० पर्व १३५।१५

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but by ties of spiritual relationship where both were repaying the debt they owed to the Ṛṣis by the pursuit of knowledge. Manu[1] states that a student should not pay anything to his teacher before he finishes his education. A teacher teaching for fees is condemned as being guilty of a sin, (upapātaka).[2] Uśanā[3] brands him as a Bhṛtika. As regards the presents,[4] they were not adequate remuneration for labour and expense involved in supporting and educating a student for such a long period of twelve years. It is a misconception to argue that these parting gifts of a student to his teacher, after completion of his studies, disprove the honorary character of the work of the teacher and show the incorrectness of the prevailing assumption which makes it out to be a labour of love, a virtue which is its own reward, while it is essentially, looking beneath the appearances, a mere economic transaction.

According to Gautama :—"The person from whom a pupil receives the sacrament of initiation is called the

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1. न पूर्वं गुरवे किञ्चिदुपकुर्वीत् धर्मवित् ।
स्नास्यंस्तु गुरुणाऽऽज्ञप्तः शक्त्या गुर्वर्थ माहरेत् ॥ मनु० २।२४५

2. (i) भृतकाध्यापनम् ॥१८॥
भृताच्चाध्ययनादानम् ॥१९॥
देवर्षिपितृ ऋणानामनपाक्रिया ॥२७॥
विष्णु स्मृ० ३७।१८-१९, २७

(ii) भृतादध्ययनादानं भृतकाध्यापनं तथा । याज्ञ० ३।२३५

(iii) लब्धास्पदोऽस्मीति विवादभीरोस्तितिक्षमाणस्य परेण निन्दाम् ।
यस्यागमः केवलं जीविकायै, तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति ॥
मालविका० १।१७

3. असंस्तुताध्यापका ये भृतकान् पाठयन्ति ये ।
अधीयीत तथा वेदान् भृतकास्ते प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
औशनस स्मृतिः ४।२३-२४

4. गुरोर्दक्षिणां दत्वा समावृती स्यात् ॥ वैखानस ध० सू० २।१२।७

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Acārya, *i,e.* a teacher and the same title is bestowed for teaching the Veda.The teacher is chief among all the Gurus. Some say that the mother holds that place. Sacred learning is more important than all other good qualities, because it is the root of the sacred law as the Veda expressly declares it. A king must make way for a Śrotriya. The advice of the spiritual teacher guards men of all castes and orders. The rule for times of distress is that a Brāhmaṇa may study under a teacher, who is not a Brāhmaṇa. A student is bound to walk behind and to obey his non-Brāhmaṇical teacher. But when the course of study has been finished, the Brāhmaṇa pupil is more venerable than his teacher."[1]

An officiating priest must be for saken, if he is ignorant of the rules of sacrifice; a teacher, if he does not impart instruction and both if they commit crimes causing loss of caste."[2]

The Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra declares in this connection that by reason of his imparting the Veda, they call the teacher *father.* One who teaches the Veda, after initiating a student is called Acārya. Sāvitri is the mother and the Ācārya is called his father. He who teaches a portion of the Veda and the Vedic subsidiaries, is called an Upādhyāya. An Ācārya is ten times more venerable than an Upādhyāya. Among the following an aged person, a child, a sick person, a man carrying a load, a woman, a man driving in a chariot,

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1. तद् यस्मात् स आचार्यः ॥ वेदानुवचनाच्च ॥ आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरूणाम् ॥ मातेत्येके ॥ श्रुतं तु सर्वेभ्यो गरीयः ॥ तन्मूलत्वाद् धर्मस्य ॥ श्रुतेश्च ॥ राज्ञा तु श्रोत्रियाय ॥ आचार्योपदेशः पालयेत् ॥ गौतम ध० सू० १।११-१२; २।५७-५८; ६।२२-२४, २७; ११।३३

   आपत्कल्पो ब्राह्मणस्या ब्राह्मणाद् विद्योपयोगः ॥ अनुगमनं शूश्रुषा ॥ समाप्ते ब्राह्मणो गुरुः ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ७।१-३

2. अज्ञानाध्यापनाहत्विगाचार्यौ पतनीय सेवायां च हेयौ ॥
   गौतम ध० सू० २१।१२

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the succeeding should make way for the preceeding ; when the King and the accomplished student meet, the king should make way for the student; all should make way for a bride who is being married.[1]

Baudhāyana also holds that, one may read under a non-Brāhmaṇa during times of distress ; so long as he is reading under him, he should follow him and attend upon him. Way should be made for the Brāhmaṇa, the cow, the king, the blind person, the aged, the man suffering under a load, a pregnant woman and a weak person.[2]

According to Āpastamha, a teacher should be a man in whose family sacred learning is hereditary, who himself possesses it, and who is devout in following the law. He from whom the pupil gathers (ācinoti) the knowledge of his religious duties, is called the Ācārya whom he should never offend, as he is his spiritual father who, by imparting to him the sacred learning, gives him a new life—a second birth which is the best. The father and the mother produce the body only. The spiritual guide shall order those who, whilst participating according to sacred law in the rights of

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1. वेदप्रदानात् पितेत्याचार्यमाचक्षते ॥
उपनीय तु यः कृत्स्नं वेदमध्यापयेत् स आचार्यः ॥
तत्रास्य माता सवित्री पिता त्वाचार्य उच्यते ॥
यस्त्वेकदेशं स उपाध्यायः, यश्च वेदाङ्गानि ॥
उपाध्यायाद् दशाचार्यः ॥
पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् स्थविर बालातुर भारिक स्त्री
चक्रीवतां पन्था समागमे परस्मैदेयः ॥
राजकस्नातकयोः समागमे राज्ञा स्नातकाय देयः ॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २।५; ३।२४; २।४; ३।२५; १३।१७; १३।२५-२६

2. अब्राह्मणादध्ययनमापदि ॥ शुश्रूषाऽनुव्रज्या च यावदध्ययनम् ॥
पन्था देयो ब्राह्मणाय गवे राज्ञे ह्यवृद्धाय भारतप्ताय गर्भिण्यै दुर्बलाय च ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।४०-४१; २।३।५७

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their caste, have gone astray[1] through the weakness of their senses, to perform penances proportionate to the greatness of sins, according to the precepts of the Smṛti. If such persons transgress their Ācārya's order, he shall take them before the king. The king shall send them to his domestic priest, who should be learned in the law and the science of governing. He shall order them to perform the proper penances, if they are Brāhmaṇas. He shall reduce them to reason by forcible means, excepting corporal punishment and servitude. Even the king would make way to a Brāhmaṇa, with respect to his learning and good qualities.

It is declared in the Smṛtis that a Brāhmaṇa alone should be chosen as teacher or spiritual guide. In times of distress a Brāhmaṇa may study under a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya and during his pupilship he must walk behind such a teacher. Afterwards the Brāhmaṇa shall take precedence before his Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher. A teacher who neglects the instruction of his pupil, no longer remains a teacher.[2]

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1. तस्मिन्नभिजन विद्यासमुदेतं समाहितं संस्करतारमीप्सेत् ॥ तस्मिंश्चैव विद्या कर्मान्त मविप्रतिपन्ने धमभ्यः ॥ यस्माद् धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः ॥ तस्मै न द्रुह्येत्कदाचन् ॥ स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति ॥ तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म ॥ शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः ॥ शास्त्रैरधिगतानामिन्द्रिय दौर्बल्याद् विप्रतिपन्नानाँ शास्ता निर्वेषमुपदिशेद् यथाकर्म यथोक्तम् ॥

   आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।१।१२-१८; २।५।१०।१२

2. तस्य चेच्छास्त्रमति प्रवर्त्तेरन् राजानं गमयेत् ॥ राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थ-कुशलम् ॥ स ब्राह्मणान्नियुञ्ज्यात् ॥ बलविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्जं नियमैरुपशोषयेत् ॥ समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः ॥ ब्राह्मणः आचार्यः स्मर्यते तु ॥ आपदि ब्राह्मणेन राजन्ये वैश्ये वाध्ययनम् ॥अनुगमनं च पश्चात् ॥ तत ऊर्ध्वं ब्राह्मण एवग्रे गतौ स्यात् ॥ अचार्योप्यनाचार्यो भवति श्रुतात् परिहरमाणः ॥

   आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।१०।१३-१६; २।५।११।६; २।२।४।२४-२७; १।२।८।२७

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Relation between the teacher and the taught[1]

The relationship between the teacher and the pupil was regarded as filial in character.[2] He was the spiritual father of his pupils, in addition to imparting intellectual education to him, he was also held morally responsible for their drawbacks.[3] He was always to keep a guard over the conduct of his pupil. He must let him know what to cultivate and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest and what he may neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep and as to what food he may take and what he may reject. He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep and as to the villages and localities he should frequent.[4] The teacher not only did not demand any fee but also helped the poor students in getting food or clothing. He nursed him if he was ill. Even when the student had returned home after his education, he was to call on his teacher frequently, bringing him some presents, it may be even a tooth-stick.[5] Teachers also used to return these visits.[6] The teacher's visit was not without its benefit to the student; he used to utilize the occasion to ascertain how far the ex-student was keeping up his reading and studies. The mutual contact between the teacher and the student thus continued even after the completion of education and was not without mutual benefit.

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1. "आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य" इत्येनं शंसेत् ॥ अनाशीर्वादी नाभिवन्द्यः ॥
वैखानस ध० सू० २।१०।८-९

2. पुत्रमिवैनमभिकांक्षेत् ॥ आप० ध० सू० १।२।८।२४
तस्माच्छ्रोत्रियमनूचानमप्रजोऽसीति न वदन्तीति ॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २।१०

3. अतीत्य बन्धूनवलंघ्य शिष्यानाचार्यमागच्छति शिष्यदोषः ॥
पंचतन्त्र १।२१

4. Milinda-Panha, Vol. I., p. 142
5. आप० ध० सू० १।२।८।२२
6. जातक सं० १३०

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The teacher was required to teach everything he knew to his disciple; he could withhold nothing under the apprehension that his pupil may one day outshine him in the profession.[1]

The Student

Eligibility of a student

The teacher was to begin the education of the student as soon as he was satisfied that the latter was sincere, zealous, well-behaved and possessed the nccessary calibre. Usually, teachers were allowed to watch the conduct and calibre of the new entrants for about six months or a year ; but after that period they were bound to start instructions.[2] If they did not do so, they were saddled with all sins of the students they were keeping in suspense. Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya (Sūtrasthāna ch. 2) allows only a six month's, period of waiting for medical students. Longer periods of waiting like five or 32 years (Tantrarāja-Tantra II. 37-8 and Ch. Up. VIII. 7.2.3) were intended for those who aspired to be initiated in secret and esoteric philosophical doctrines and not for ordinary students. If there is no real desire for learning and improvement, it would be useless to waste time and labour over the education of insincere students.[3] Nature is more important than

1. नाहमिदं वेद । यद्यवेदिषं कथं ते नावक्ष्यामीति ।
   समूलो वैष परिशुष्यति यो ऽनृतमभिवदति ॥ प्रश्नोप० ६।१
2. संवत्सरोषिते शिष्ये गुरुर्ज्ञानमनिर्दशन् ।
   हरते दुष्कृतं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो गुरुः ॥
   कूर्मपुराण in V.M.S. p. 515.
3. विद्यया सह मर्तव्यं न चैनामूषरे वपेद् ॥
   बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।४८

   आपद्यपि हि घोरायां न त्वेनामिरिणे वपेत् ॥११३॥
   विद्याब्रह्मैणमेत्याह सेवधिस्तेऽस्मि रक्ष माम् ।
   असूयकाय मां मादास्तथा स्यां वीर्यवत्तमा ॥११४॥

(Continued on next page)

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nurture : a bamboo tree cannot blossom into a Sandal one simply because it is assiduously watered and manured and planted upon the Malaya mountain.[1] If one has no natural capacity, education cannot create it, a minor can show reflection only to one who has the eyesight.[2] A conscientious teacher imparts educaton as assiduously to a brilliant as to a dull boy ; there is, however, a world of difference as to the results. One shines forth in the world of scholars, while the other hardly succeeds in making any appreciable progress. Glass alone can reflect solar rays, not a clod of earth, howsoever, polished.[3] This view is similar to that of Plato who has pointed out that education is not like putting sight into blind eyes ; it is only turning the eyes to light.

Emphasis on Character-building

In the educational system moral training was as important as mental training. The building of character of the

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(Continued from previous page)

यमेव तु शुचिं विद्यान्नियतं ब्रह्मचारिणम् ।
तस्मै मां ब्रूहि विप्राय बिधिपायाप्रमादिने ॥११५॥
मनु० २।११३-११५ ॥

चोदितो गुरुणा नित्यमप्रचोदित एव वा ।
कुर्यादध्ययने यत्नमाचार्यस्य हितेषु च ॥ मनु० २।१९१

1. अन्तःसार विहीनस्य सहायः किं करिष्यति ।
मलयेऽपि स्थितो वेणुर्वेणुरेव न चन्दनः ॥ सुभाषित र० भा० पृ०४१.७
2. यस्य नास्ति स्वयं प्रज्ञा शास्त्रोक्तं किं करिष्यति ।
लोचनाभ्यां विहीनस्य दर्पणः किं करिष्यति ॥ Ibid, p. 40.1
3. वितरति गुरुः प्राज्ञे विद्यां यथैव तथा जडे,
न च खलु तयोर्ज्ञाने शक्तिं करोत्यपहन्ति वा ।
भवति च पुन र्भूयान् भेदः फलं प्रति तद्यथा,
प्रभवति मणिर्बिबोद्ग्राहे न चैव मृदां चयः ॥ उत्तर रामचरितम् । ४
अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्त सखायो,
मनोजवेष्वसमा बभूवुः । ऋ० १०।७२।७

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student was deemed as one of the essential objects of education. Manu[1] states : Neither the study of the Veda nor donations, nor sacrifices nor any self-imposed restraint nor austerities can ever procure the attainment of rewards to a man whose heart is contaminated by sensuality. It shows that mere intellectual development without the development of character, learning without piety, proficiency in the sacred lore with a deficiency in the practices may uproot the very end of studentship. There was no relaxation for the rules governing the daily life of the student. No interruption or holiday was possible during the course of moral training. The disciplinary regulations acted unceasingly as impersonal teachers. The student used to get up early in the morning before sunrise, failing which he had to observe fast the next day and mutter the Sāvitri.[2] He used to repeat the prayers at sunrise and sunset. Every morning and evening he went round the village for begging and whatever was given to him, he handed over to his Guru. He ate nothing except what his Guru gave him. He used to fetch water, to gather fuel for the altar, to sweep the ground round the hearth, and to wait on his Guru day and night. This looks like menial service interfering with the students' studies according to the modern ideas, but one must bear in mind the accompanying explanatory regulation that the teacher was never to itilize the labour of his pupil for his own selfish, household purposes. Āpastamba[3] Dharma Sūtra declares that the observance of these rules is in the interest of the student. In this way the complete moral and

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1. वेदास्त्यागश्च यज्ञाश्च नियमाश्च तपांसि च ।
   न विप्रदुष्टभावस्य सिद्धिं गच्छतिकर्हिचित् ॥ मनुः २।९७
2. तं चेदभ्युदियात् सूर्यः शयानं कामचारतः ।
   निम्लोचेद्वाप्य विज्ञानाज्ज पन्नुपवसेद्दिनम् ॥ मनु० २।२२०
3. गुरुप्रसादनीयानि कर्माणि स्वस्त्ययनमध्ययन संवृत्तिरिति ॥
   आप० ध० सू० १।२।५।९

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intellectual development was the objective of this ancient pedagogy.

The Upanayana[1] *Sanskāra*

The rite of Upanayana (literally "leading near" *i.e.* the teacher, for instruction) is the most important of all the Sanskāras. It lays down the foundation of a planned life. Due to its vital importance the rules usually prescribe ages within which a boy of the first three varṇas must enter it, and their extension to limits, within which it is permissible to perform Upanayana, after expiation. Initiation before adolescence is a custom of high antiquity. It is found even among the savage people. It marks the beginning not of literacy which is done by the ceremony of Vidyārambha in the fifth year, but of admission to sacred and secret knowledge. It is the first step in the evolution of personality. What Garbhādhāna is to physical birth, the rite of Upanayana is to spiritual birth. What the parents are in relation to his physical birth, his ācārya (preceptor) and the holy Sāvitrī mantra to which he is introduced by the rite, are to his second or spiritual birth. A boy is considered to be only an animal before Upanayana, he becomes a "Soul" after it. Those who undergo Upanayana are "reborn" and are termed *dvijas* (twice-born). Only those born of parents of the twice-born varṇas are eligible for Upanayana proper *i.e.*, for initiation in the Sāvitrī mantra, and introduction to Vedic lore. Dharmaśāstras describe only this type of Upanayana. As the study of the Veda is a duty of all the first three varṇas, the rite is compulsory in the sense of introducing them to the Veda. The age at this ceremony is to be usually between five to eight years and is open to all varṇas. Illiteracy is not to be imposed even on the

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1. आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः ।
तं रात्रीस्तिस्र उदरे बिभर्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभिसंयन्ति देवाः ॥
अथर्व० ११।५।३

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fourth varṇa. Thus it is not merely secular education but spiritual that is made universal and compulsory for the *dvijas*. The birth of spirituality in the acolyte is described as *Brahmajanma*; for it marks the birth in him of Brahma or Vedic knowledge. Various Sanskāras are necessary to make the body a suitable home for the soul. The rite of Upanayana purifies body and mind and makes one fit for the reception of the sacred lore. The meaning of the term is (upa + nī) "leading to" or "introduction", which is not merely to the preceptor but to "sacred knowledge".

Position of a Child before Upanayana

Before Upanayana a child may follow his inclinations in behaviour, speech and eating. It shall not partake of offerings. It may void urine and faeces according to its convenience. He cannot recite Vedic texts.[1]

Hārit quotes the following verse—"No religious rite can be performed by a child before he has been girt with the sacred girdle; since he is on a level with the Śūdra before he is born in the Veda."[2]

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1. प्रागुपनयनात् कामचारवाद भक्षः ॥१॥
अहुताद् ब्रह्मचारी ॥२॥
यथोपपाद मूत्रपुरीषो भवति ॥४॥
नास्याचमन कल्पो विद्यते ॥५॥
न तदुपस्पर्शनादशौचम् ॥७॥
नत्वेवैन मग्निहवन बलिहरणयोर्नियुञ्ज्यात् ॥८॥
न ब्रह्माभिव्याहारयेत् ॥९॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।१-९

2. हारीतोऽप्युदाहरति ॥११॥
न ह्यस्य विद्यते कर्म किंचिदामौञ्जि बन्धनात् ।
वृत्त्या शूद्रसमो ज्ञेयो यावद् वेदे न जायते ॥१२॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २।११-१२

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Until he becomes born in the Veda, he remains in character, equal to the Śūdra. Till the Upanayana they lay no restriction on the actions of the child.[1]

Time of Upanayana Sanskāra

According to the Gautama's Dharma Sūtra, the initiation is the second birth. The initiation of a Brāhmaṇa shall ordinarily take place in his eighth year ; that of a Kṣatriya in the eleventh and that of Vaiśya in the twelfth year. Up to the sixteenth year, the time for the Sāvitrī of a Brāhmaṇa has not passed, nor of a Kṣatriya up to the twentieth, and of a Vaiśya extends two years beyond the latter term.[2]

We find in the Baudhāyana's Dharma Sūtra that the years in this connection are computed from conception,—the Upanayana of the Brāhmaṇa should be performed during the eighth year; three years after the eighth, of the Kṣatriya, and after one more year, of the Vaiśya.[3]

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1. नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति किंचिदा मौञ्जिबन्धनात् ।
वृत्त्या शूद्रसमो ह्येष यावद् वेदे न जायते ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।६

2. तद् द्वितीयं जन्म ॥१०॥
उपनयनं ब्राह्मणस्याष्टमे ॥ ७॥
नवमे पञ्चमे वा काम्यम् ॥ ८॥
एकादश द्वादशयोः क्षत्रियवैश्योः ॥१३॥
आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यापतिता सावित्री ॥१४॥
द्वाविंशते राजन्यस्य ॥१५॥
द्व्यधिकाया वैश्यस्य ॥१६॥
गौतम ध० सू० १।१०, ७, ४, १३-१६

3. गर्भादिसंख्या वर्षाणां तदष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ॥७॥
त्र्यधिकेषु राजन्यम् ॥८॥
तस्मादेकाधिकेषु वैश्यम् ॥९॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।७-९

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The Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra further adds that this second birth is the best. The initiation is the consecration in accordance with the texts of the Veda, of a male who is desirous of and can make use of sacred knowledge. Let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa in Spring, a Kṣatriya in Summer, a Vaiśya in Autumn, a Brāhmaṇa in the eighth year after conception, a Kṣatriya in the eleventh year and a Vaiśya in the twelfth. Let him initiate a person desirous of excellence in sacred learning in his seventh year, a person desirous of long life in his eighth year, a person desirous of manly vigour in his ninth year, a person desirous of food in his tenth year, a person desirous of cattle in his twelfth year. There is no dereliction of duty, if the initiation takes place, in the case of a Brāhmaṇa before the completion of the sixteenth year, in the case of a Kṣatriya before the completion of the twenty-second year, in the case of a Vaiśya before the completion of the twenty-fourth year. Let him be initiated at such an age that he may be able to perform the duties, which we shall declare below.[1]

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1. तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म ॥१७॥
उपनयनं विद्यार्थस्य श्रुतितः संस्कारः ॥ ६॥
वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत, ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं,
शरदि वैश्यं, गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणं
गर्भैकादशेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम् ॥१६॥
अथ काम्यानि ॥२०॥
सप्तमे ब्रह्मवर्चसकामम् ॥२१॥
अष्टम आयुष्कामम् ॥२२॥
नवमे तेजसकामम् ॥२३॥
दशमेऽन्नाद्यकामम् ॥ एकादश इन्द्रियकामम् ॥२५॥
द्वादशे पशुकामम् ॥२६॥
आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानात्यय आ
द्वाविंशात्क्षत्रियस्या चतुर् विंशाद् वैश्यस्य
यथा व्रतेषु समर्थः स्याद् यानि वक्ष्यामः ॥२७॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।१।१७, ६, १९-२७

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The first twenty-five years of life were devoted to education and study. It is laid down in several texts, and the custom still continues, that the education be commenced in the fifth year of the child with the ceremony of learning alphabets both in reading and writing. The Primary education was carried out at home for a period of three or four years. At the age of eight or nine years, the child was sent out for the minimum period of twelve years. Thus at the age of about twenty years, the Secondary education was completed. Thereafter, a period of five years was spent at some Caraṇa (University) for higher study and in acquiring professional skill not only in priest-craft but also in professions like medicine and surgery. Those who intended to pursue further study and research might continue till the forty-eighth year. But one had to marry before the appearance of grey hair generally after the age of forty-eight.

Courses of Study

A reference may be made to the courses of study at the Primary, Secondary and University stages in ancient India. Generally after learning the alphabets at home, boys were introduced at Primary School to *Śabda*-Vidyā (learning of words) which literally means phonology and implies mainly grammar. The object was to impress at the outset upon the boy's mind "the idea of seientific method, order, principle and system of rule," though the study of grammar, the inevitable cramming of the rules of grammar, however, might have injured the raw brain and created a distaste for study. But the ancients, contrary to the fourth vow of studentship to understand things, laid greater importance to memorising than to understanding of all subjects.

After acquiring the necessary knowledge of language and literature following the study of grammar, one had to study the *Hetuvidyā* or logic which develops the reasoning faculty, and *Śilpa-vidyā* or science of arts and crafts which inculcated in students an aesthetic sense and practical skill in construction regarding symmetry, proportion and beauty.

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After this general education students were taught some professional and technical subjects like the Āyurveda or Cikitsā-vidyā (medicine and surgery), astronomy, mathematics, Astra-vidyā, Artha Śāstra, etc.

Number of Vidyās

The usual number of Vidyās (subjects of learning) were fourteen including the four Vedas (scriptures), aṅgas, (Śikṣā, Kalpa, Nirukta, Chandas, Jyotiṣa and Grammar), Dharma (rules of conduct), Mīmānsā (Theology), Tarka or Nyāya (logic) and Purāṇas (History and Mythology).

The formal introduction to education was made by the Upanayana Sanskāra, ordained for the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.

Eligibility of Śūdras for Upanayana

The Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra admits the Śūdra-Rathakāra, to the ceremony of Upanayana. He says: "Let him initiate a Brāhmaṇa in Spring, a Kṣatriya in Summer, a Vaiśya in Autumn, a Rathakāra in the rainy season, or all of them in Spring.[1]

Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, however, defines the Rathakāra as the off-spring of a Vaiśya male and Śūdra female.[2]

Uniform of a Student

1. Girdle

According to *Gautama*, the students should have a special uniform after initiation. Every pupil should wear a girdle made of strings of Munja grass, a bow-string or a (wool) thread according to the order of the castes.[3]

Vasiṣṭha says that the girdle for the Brāhmaṇa consists of the Munja-string; for the Kṣatriya, of the bow-string;

1. बौधायन गृह्य सूत्र २।५।८-९
2. वैश्याच्छूद्रायां रथकारः । बौधायन ध० सू० १।९।१६
3. मौञ्जीज्या मौर्वी सौत्र्यो मेखला क्रमेण ॥ गौतम ध० सू० १।१७

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for the Vaiśya, of hempen fibre.[1] The girdles are to be of Munja, bow-string and hempen,[2] according to *Baudhāyana.*

Acccording to *Āpasatmba,* the girdle of a Brāhmaṇa shall be made of Munja grass and consists of three strings ; if possible, the strings should be twisted to the right. A bowstring should be the girdle of a Kṣatriya, or a string of Munja grass in which pieces of iron have been tied. A wool thread shall be the girdle of a Vaiśya, or a rope used for yoking the oxen to the plough or a string made of Tāmala-bark.[3]

2. Garments

According to *Gautama,* the upper garments of the students should be of skins of black-bucks, spotted deer or he-goats. Hempen or linen cloth, the inner bark of trees and woollen blankets may be worn as lower garments by students of all castes. Undyed cotton cloth may also be used. Some say that even dyed red cloth may be used. In that case the garment of a Brāhmaṇa should be dyed with a red dye produced from a tree and those of students of the other two castes should be dyed with madder or turmeric.[4]

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1. मौञ्जी ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्ज्या क्षत्रियस्य, शणतान्तवी वैश्यस्य ॥
वसिष्ट ध० सू० ११।४७

2. मौञ्जी धनुर्ज्या शाणीति मेखला ॥१३॥ बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।१३

3. मौञ्जी मेखला त्रिवृद् ब्राह्मणस्य शक्ति विषये दक्षिणावृत्तानाम् ॥३३॥
ज्या राजन्यस्य ॥३४॥
मौञ्जी वायोमिश्रा ॥३५॥
श्रावी सूत्रं वैश्यस्य ॥३६॥
सैरी तामली वेत्येके ॥३७॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।३३-३७

4. कृष्णरुरुवस्ताजिनानि ॥१८॥
वासांसि शाण क्षौमचीरकुतपास्सर्वेषाम् ॥१९॥

(*Continued on next page*)

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Vasiṣṭha prescribes for the Brāhmaṇa, the upper garment of the skin of the black deer ; for the Kṣatriya, of the skin of the spotted deer ; for the Vaiśya, of the skin of the cow or of the goat,[1] and *Baudhāyana* prescribes the skins of the black deer, the spotted deer and the goat.[2]

According to *Āpasatmba* the student shall wear a cloth to cover his nakedness. It shall be made of hemp for a Brāhmaṇa, of flax for a Kṣatriya, of the skin of a clean animal for a Vaiśya. The upper garment of a Brāhmaṇa should be dyed with red *Lodh*, and that of a Kṣatriya dyed with madder, and that of a Vaiśya dyed with turmeric. The skin worn by a Brāhmaṇa shall be that of a common deer or of a black doe. If he wears a black skin, let him not spread it on the ground to sit or lie upon it. The skin worn by a Kṣatriya shall be that of a spotted dear. The skin worn by a Vaiśya shall be that of a he-goat. The skin of a sheep is fit to be worn by all castes and a blanket made of wool. He, who wishes to develop the Brāhmaṇa power shall wear skins only ; he, who wishes to develop the Kṣatriya power shall wear cloth only ; he who wishes to develop both shall wear both skin and cloth. Thus says a

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[(*Continued from previous page*)

कार्पासं चाविकृतम् ॥२०॥

काषायमप्येके ॥२१॥

वार्क्षंब्राह्मणस्य ॥२२॥

माञ्जिष्ठं हारिद्रे इतरयोः ॥२३॥

गौतम ध० सू० १।१८-२३]

1. कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरीयं ब्राह्मणस्य, रौरवं क्षत्रियस्य, गव्यं वस्तजिनं वा वैश्यस्य ॥४८॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ११।४८

2. कृष्णरुरुवस्ताजिनान्यजिनानि ॥ बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।१४

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Brāhmaṇa. But (I, *Āpastamba*, say) let him wear a skin only as his upper garment.[1]

3. Staff

According to *Gautama*, the staff carried by a student of Brāhmaṇa caste should be made of Bilva or Plāsā wood. Staves made of Aśvatha or Pīlu wood are fit for students of the remaining two castes, or a staff cut from a tree that is fit to be used at a sacrifice may be carried and used by students of all castes. These staves should be unblemished, bent at the top like a sacrificial post, and these should be covered by their bark. They should reach the crown of the head, the forehead or the tip of the nose according to the caste of the student.[2]

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1. शाणी क्षौमाजिनानि ॥४०॥
कषायं चैके वस्त्रमुपदिशन्ति ॥४१॥
माञ्जिष्टं राजन्यस्य ॥ १॥
हारिद्रं वैश्यस्य ॥ २॥
हारिणमैणेयं वा कृष्णं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥ ३॥
कृष्णं चेदनुपस्तीर्णासनशायी स्यात् ॥ ४॥
रौरवं राजन्यस्य ॥ ५॥
बस्ताजिनं वैश्यस्य ॥ ६॥
आविकं सार्ववर्णिकम् ॥ ७॥
कम्बलश्च ॥ ८॥
ब्रह्म वृद्धि मिच्छन्नजिनान्येव वसीत क्षत्र वृद्धिमिच्छन्
वस्त्राण्येवोभय वृद्धि मिच्छन्नुभयमितिहि ब्राह्मणस्य ॥ ९॥
अजिनं त्वेवोत्तरं धारयेत् ॥१०॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।४०-४१; १।१।३।१-१०

2. बैल्वपालाशौ ब्राह्मणदण्डौ ॥२४॥
आश्वत्थपैलवौ शेषे ॥२५॥
यज्ञियो वा सर्वेषाम् ॥२६॥
अपीडिता यूप वक्त्रास्सशल्काः ॥२७॥
मूर्धललाट नासाग्र प्रमाणाः ॥२८॥
गौतम ध० सू० १। २४-२८

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According to *Vasiṣṭha* for the Brāhmaṇa, the staff is of Palāśa or Bilva, for the Kṣatriya, of Nyagrodha ; for the Vaiśya, of Udumbara ; for the Brāhmaṇa, reaching up to the hair, for the Kṣatriya, reaching up to the forehead ; for the Vaiśya, reaching up to the Breath (Nose-tip).[1] *Āpastamba* holds that the staff worn by a Brāhmaṇa should be made of Palāśa wood, that of a Kṣatriya of a branch of the Banian tree, which grows downwards, that of a Vaiśya of Bādara or Udumbara wood. Some declare, without any reference to caste, that the staff of a student should be made of the wood of a tree that is fit to be used at the sacrifice.[2]

4. Shaving

According to *Gautama* it is optional for the students to get their heads shaved, to wear the hair tied in a braid or to keep merely a lock on the crown of the head tied in a braid shaving the other portions of the head.[3]

5. Mendicancy

According to *Gautama*, a student should accept alms from men of all castes excepting Abhiśastas and out-castes. In begging, the word, "lady" should be pronounced in the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the request, according to the order of the castes. He may beg in the houses of the teachers, of the blood relations, or of Gurus and in his own, if he obtains no alms elsewhere. Among these, he

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1. पालाशो बल्वो वा दण्डो ब्राह्मणस्य,
नैयग्रोधः क्षत्रियस्य वा औदुम्बरो वा वैश्यस्य ॥४५॥
केशसंमितो ब्राह्मणस्य, ललाटसंमिताः
क्षत्रियस्य, घ्राण संमितो वैश्यस्य ॥४६॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ११।४५-४६

2. पालाशो दण्डो वा ब्राह्मणस्य नैय्यग्रोधस्कन्धजो वाङ्ग्रो राजन्यस्य वादर औदुम्बरो वा वैश्यस्य वार्क्षो दण्ड इत्यवर्णसंयोगे नैक उपदिशन्ति ॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।३८

3. मुण्ड जटिल शिखाजटश्च ॥ गौतम ध० सू १।२९

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shall avoid each preceeding one more carefully than those named later. Having announced to the teacher whatever he has received and with his permission, the student may eat the collected food. If the teacher is not present, he shall seek the permission to eat from his wives, or sons, from fellow-students or virtuous strangers. He should place water by his side and should eat in silence, contented and without greed.[1] All others agree with *Gautama*, in the method of begging.

Behaviour of a Student

Gautama's views regarding the behaviour of a student are as follows :—

A pupil shall be intent on doing what is pleasing and serviceable to the teacher and he shall behave towards his wives, and sons as towards him. A student shall remain obedient to his teacher until his end. In the time of remaining after he has attended to the business of his Guru, he shall recite Veda. If the Guru dies, he shall serve his son or an elder fellow-student or the fire[2].

Gautama further says if it is absolutely necessary to pronounce his teacher's name and family name, he ought to indicate it by using a synonymous name. He must

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1. सार्ववर्णिकं भैक्षचरणमभिशस्तपतित वर्जम् ॥४२॥
आदिमध्यान्तेषु भवच्छब्दः प्रयोज्यो वर्णानुपूर्व्येण ॥४३॥
आचार्य ज्ञाति गुरुस्वेष्वलाभे ऽन्यत्र ॥४४॥
तेषां पूर्वं पूर्वं परिहरेत् ॥४५॥
निवेद्य गुरवे ऽनुज्ञातो भुञ्जीत ॥४६॥
असन्निधौ तद् भार्या पुत्र स ब्रह्मचारिसद्भ्यः ॥४७॥
वाग्यतस्तृप्यन् न लोलुप्यमानः सन्निधायोदकम् ॥४८॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।४२-४८

2. युक्तः प्रियहितयोः ॥३७॥
तद् भार्या पुत्रेषु चैवम् ॥३८॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।३७-३८

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speak in the same respectful manner of a man who is generally revered due to his letters. He should not pronounce, even, the names of his teachers' sons and his wives and of a person who has performed the Dīkṣanīyeṣṭī of *Soma* sacrifice. If the teacher speaks to him, he shall answer after having risen from his seat or couch in case he is lying down or sitting. At the command of his teacher, he shall approach, although the teacher may not be visible and if he sees his teacher standing or sitting in a lower place or to the leeward or to the wind-ward, he shall rise and change his position. If his teacher is walking, he shall walk after him, informing him of the work which he is going to do and telling him what he has done.[1]

Behaviour towards Ladies

According to *Gautama* a student on returning from a journey should embrace the feet of the wives of his teacher. But according to some scholars, it is not advisable to do so, in case, the student has attained his age or majority. Generally, he should not gaze at and touch women. He should not eat the leavings of his wives and sons. He shall not

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1. आचार्य तत्पुत्र स्त्री दीक्षित नामानि ॥२४॥
शुक्ता वाचः ॥२५॥
मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः ॥२६॥
अधश्शय्यासनी पूर्वोत्थायी जघन्य संवेशी ॥२७॥
वाग्बाहूदर संयतः ॥२८॥
नामगोत्रे गुरोस्समानतो निर्दिशेत् ॥२९॥
अर्चिते श्रेयसि चैवम् ॥३०॥
शय्यासन स्थानानि विहाय प्रति श्रवणम् ॥३१॥
अभिक्रमणं वचनाददृष्टेन ॥३२॥
अधः स्थानासनतिर्यग् वात सेवायां गुरुदर्शने चोत्तिष्ठेत् ॥३३॥
गच्छन्त मनुव्रजेत् ॥३४॥
कर्म विज्ञाप्याख्याय ॥३५॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।२४-३५

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attend them while bathing. He shall not assist them at their toilet. He shall not wash their feet and shampoo them.[1]

According to *Vasiṣṭha* the religious student shall surrender his body to the teacher's house, observing the same restrictions as those during the course of his study. He shall serve the teacher till the falling of his body. Towards the teacher's son, one should behave like that towards the teacher himself,—so says the *Śruti*. On the teacher's death, he shall attend upon the fire : as the fire has been recognised as the teacher. Forestalled by sunrise, he shall remain standing during the day and repeat the *Sāvitrī* ; similarly if he, while asleep, is forestalled by sunset, he shall sit up during the night.[2]

Baudhāyana holds that by clasping the right foot with the right, and the left with the left hand, one obtains long life and goes to heaven. When the teacher is seated, the pupil, while addressing him, should not remain seated, when the teacher is lying down, the pupil addressing him should not remain lying down. Towards the teacher's son or

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1. नोच्छिष्टाशन स्नापन प्रसाधन पाद प्रक्षालनोन्मर्दनोप संग्रहणानि ॥३६॥
विप्रोष्योपसंग्रहणं गुरुभार्याणाम् ॥४०॥
नैके युवतीनां व्यवहार प्राप्तेन ॥४१॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।३७-४१

2. ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यं परिचरेत् ॥ ३॥
आशरीर विमोक्षात् ॥ ४॥
गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रस्य वर्तितव्यमिति श्रुतिः ॥२२॥
आचार्ये प्रमीतेऽग्निं परिचरेत् ॥ ५॥
विज्ञायते हि तवग्निराचार्य इति ॥ ६॥
तत्र च सूर्याभ्युदितः सन्नहस्तिष्ठेत् ॥ ४॥
सावित्रीं च जपेत् ॥ ५॥
एवं सूर्याभिनिर्मुक्तो रात्रा वासीत् ॥ ६॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ७।३-४; १३।२२; ७।५-६; २०।४-६

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towards the expounders of the Veda, one should behave similarly, with the exception of eating his leavings. He should speak the truth. He should be modest. He should not be proud. He should rise before and sleep after the teacher.[1]

Āpastamba holds that the student shall obey his teacher, except when ordered to commit crimes which cause loss of caste. He shall do what is serviceable to his teacher. He shall always occupy a couch or seat lower than that of his teacher. He shall preserve chastity. He shall wear all his hair tied in one braid, or let him make a braid of the lock on the crown of the head, and shave the rest of the hair. Let him be discreet. Let him talk with women so much only as his purpose requires. Let him be forgiving. Let him restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects. Let him be untired in fulfilling his duties : modest, possesssed of self-command ; energetic, free from anger, and free from envy. In the evening and in the morning, he shall fetch water in a vessel for the use of his teacher. Daily he shall fetch fuel from the forest, and place it on the floor in his teacher's house. He shall assist his teacher daily by acts tending to the acquision of spiritual merit and of wealth. He shall retire to rest after having received his permission. He shall walk after him,[2] if he walks. He shall

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1. दक्षिणं दक्षिणेन सव्यं सव्येन चोप
संगृह्णीयाद् दीर्घमायुः स्वर्गं चेप्सन् ॥२४॥
नाऽऽसीनो नाऽऽसीनाय न शयानो
न शयानाय नाप्रयतो नाप्रयताय ॥२८॥
उच्छिष्टजनं तत्पुत्रे ऽनुचाने वा ॥३५॥
सत्यवादी ह्रीमाननहंकारः पूर्वोत्थायी जघन्य संवेशी ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।२४, २८, ३७, २०

2. अथ ब्रह्मचर्यं विधिः ॥१८॥
आचार्याधीनः स्यादन्यत्र पतनीयेभ्यः ॥१९॥

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run after him, if he runs. He shall approach his teacher with the same reverence as a deity, without telling idle stories, attentive and listening eagerly to his words. He shall sit neither too near nor too far from the teacher.[1]

Deeds prohibited for the student

According to *Gautama*, a student should not look at the sun. He shall avoid, honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, sleep in the day time, ointments, collyrium, a carriage, shoes, a parasol, love, anger, covetousness, perplexity, garrulity, playing on musical instruments, bathing for pleasure, cleansing the teeth, elation, dancing, singing, calumny and terror. He should not cover his throat in the presence of his teachers, cross his legs, lean against a wall or stretch out his feet, spit, laugh, yawn and crack the joints of the fingers. He shall not gamble and take to low service,

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(*Continued from previous page*)

हितकारी गुरोर प्रिति लोमयन्वाचा ॥२०॥
अधासनशायी ॥२१॥
मैथुनं न चरेत् ॥२६॥
जटिलः ॥३१॥
शिखा जटो वा वापयेदितरान् ॥३२॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।१८-२१, २६, ३१-३२

रहः शीलः ॥१४॥ हुमान् ॥२०॥
स्त्रीभिर्यावदर्थसंभाषी ॥१६॥ दृढ़ धृतिः ॥२१॥
मृदुः ॥१७॥ अग्लांस्नुः ॥२२॥
शान्तः ॥१८॥ अक्रोधनः ॥२३॥
दान्तः ॥१९॥ अनसूयुः ॥२४॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।३। १४, १६-२४

1. सायं प्रातरुदकुम्भमाहरेत् ॥१३॥
सदारण्यादेन्धनाहृत्याधो निदध्यात् ॥१४॥
अथाहरहराचार्यं गोपायेद् धर्मार्थं युक्तैः कर्मभिः ॥२३॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।४।१३-१४, २३

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He is not to accept or take things not offered to him. He is not allowed to injure animate beings.[1]

Vasiṣṭha holds that the leavings except of the teacher, should never be eaten ; nor one's own leavings.[2]

Baudhāyana holds that the students shall avoid dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, scents, garlands, shoes, holding of umbrella, and anointing. In the case of the teacher's wife, one should avoid dressing her hair, putting clothes on her body, helping her in bathing and eating of her leavings. One who has become an adult shall not salute (by feet clasping) the youthful sister-in-law or the youthful wife of the teacher.[3]

Āpastamba holds that a student shall not contradict his teacher. He shall not eat food offered at a sacrifice to the gods or the Manes, nor pungent condiments, salt, honey or meat. He shall not sleep in the day time. He shall not use perfumes. He shall not embelish himself by using ointments and the like. He shall not wash his body with hot water for pleasure. Let him not sport in the water whilst

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1. नादित्यमीक्षेत् ॥१८॥
वर्जयेन्मधुमांस गन्धमाल्यदिवास्वप्नाञ्जन
यानोपयानच्छत्र काम क्रोध लोभ मोहवाद वादन
स्नान दन्त धावन हर्ष नृत्त गीत परिवाद भयानि ॥१९॥
गुरुदर्शने कण्ठप्रावृत्तावसक्थिकापा श्रयण पाद प्रसारणानि ॥२०॥
निष्ठीवित हसितविजृम्भितावस्फटोनानि ॥२१॥
स्त्रीप्रेक्षणालम्भने मैथुन शङ्कायाम् ॥२२॥
द्यूतं हीन सेवा मदत्तादानं हिंसाम् ॥२३॥
गौतम ध० सू० २।१८-२३

2. उच्छिष्टमगुरोरभोज्यं, स्वमुच्छिष्टोपहंत च ॥१७॥
वसिष्ट ध० सू० १४।१७

3. नृतगीत वादित्रगन्ध माल्योपानच्छत्रधारणाञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनवर्जी ॥२३॥
प्रसाधनोच्छादनस्नापन वर्जनं च तत्पत्न्याम् ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।२।२३, ३६

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bathing : let him swim (motionless) like a stick. Let him not look at dancing. Let him not go to assemlies for gambling etc,, nor to crowds assembled at festivals. Let him not be addicted to gossiping. Let him not do anything for his own pleasure in places which his teacher frequents. He shall not look at the naked woman. He shall not cut the leaves or flowers of herbs, in order to smell them. He shall avoid the use of shoes, umbrella, a chariot and the like (luxuries). He shall not smile. If he smiles, he shall smile covering the mouth with his hand. He shall avoid self-praise, blaming others and the like. He shall not sit on a seat higher than that of his teacher. Nor shall he sit or lie on a couch or seat which is used by his teacher.[1]

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1. हितकारी गुरोर प्रति लोमयन्वाचा ॥२०॥
नानुदेश्यं भुञ्जीत ॥२२॥
तथा क्षार लवण मधुमाँसानि ॥२३॥
अदिवा स्वापी ॥२४॥
अगन्धसेवी ॥२५॥
उत्सन्न श्लाघः ॥२७॥
अङ्गानि न प्रक्षालयीत ॥२८॥
नाप्सु श्लाघमानः स्नायाद् यदि स्नायाद् दण्डवत् प्लवेत् ॥३०॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।२०, २२-२५, २७-२८, ३०

अनृतदर्शी ॥११॥
सभाः समाजाँश्चागन्ता ॥१२॥
अजनवाद शीलः ॥१३॥
गुरोरुदा चारेष्व कर्ता स्वैरि कर्माणि ॥१५॥
आप० ध० सू० १।१।३।११-१३, १५

न प्रेक्षेत नग्नां स्त्रियम् ॥ ३॥
ओषधिवनस्पतीनामाच्छिद्य नोपजिघ्रेत् ॥ ४॥
उपानहौ छत्रं यानमिति च वर्जयेत् ॥ ५॥
न स्मयेत् ॥ ६॥
यदि स्मयेतापि गृह्य स्मयेतेति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥ ७॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।२।७।३-७

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Punishments

Those parents and tutors who are not particular to reprimand their children and pupils when needed, are as if giving them a drink of immortality, but those who indulge them are, in fact, giving them poison, and are thus the cause of their ruin, because indulgence spoils children, whilst (occasional) reproof develops good qualities in them. Children should also feel pleased when reprimanded, and feel uneasy when fondled.[1]

According to *Manu*, a pupil who had committed faults is to be beaten with a rope or split-bamboo but only on the back part of the body, never on the noble part.[2] Physical punishment was permitted only as a last recourse, when other means of reformation failed. The other means were defined to consist of reproof by the teacher, a frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water and banishment from the teacher's presence.

According to *Gautama*, a pupil was not to be punished corporally. If no other course was possible, he might be corrected with a thin rope or a cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument,[3] he shall be punished by the king. A student who has defiled the bed of his Guru shall extend himself on a heated iron bed, or he shall embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman, or he shall tear

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1. सामृतैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति गुरवो न विषोक्षितैः ।
लालना श्रयिणो दोषास्ताडना श्रयिणो गुणाः ।। महाभाष्य ८।१।८

2. भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च शिष्यो भ्राता च सोदरः ।
प्राप्तापराधास्ताड्याः स्यू रज्ज्वा वेणु दलेन वा ।। २९९।।
पृष्ठतस्तु शरीरस्य नोत्तमाङ्गे कथंचन ।
अतोऽन्यथा तु प्रहरन्प्राप्तः स्याच्चौर किल्विषम् ।। मनु० ८।२९९-३००

3. शिष्य शिष्ठरवधेन ।।४९।।
अशक्तौ रज्जुवेणु विदलाभ्यां तनुभ्याम् ।।५०।।
अन्येन घ्नन्राजा शास्यः ।।५१।। गौतम ध० सू० २।४९-५१

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out his organ and testicles and holding them in his hands, walk straight towards the south-west. until he falls down dead. He will be purified after death. A student who has broken the vow of chastity shall offer an ass to *Nirriti* (God of protection) on a cross-road. Putting on the skin of that ass, with the hair turned outside, and holding a red earthern vessel in his hands, he shall beg in seven houses, proclaiming his deed. He will be purified after a year. For an involuntary discharge caused by fear, or sickness, or happening during sleep, and if for seven days the fire-oblations and begging have been neglected, a student shall make an offering of clarified butter or place two pieces of fuel in the fire reciting the two verses called *Retasyas* (Taitt. Ār.1.30). How many gods does a student enter who violates the vow of chastity? It is said that his vital spirits go to the *Marutas*[1] (winds), his strength to Indra, his eminence in sacred learning to *Bṛhaspati*, all the remaining parts to *Agni*. He kindles the fire in the night of the new moon, and offers, by way of penance, two oblations of clarified butter, reciting these two sacred texts— "Defiled by lust am

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1. तप्ते लोहशयने गुरु तल्पगश्शयीत् ॥ ९॥
सूर्मिं वाऽऽश्लिष्येज्ज्वलन्तीम् ॥१०॥
लिङ्गं वा स वृषणमुत्कृत्याञ्जला वाधाय दक्षिणा
प्रतीचीं व्रजेद जिह्मा शरीरनिपातात् । मृतश्शुध्येत् ॥११॥
गौतम ध० सू० २३।९-११

गर्दभेनावकीर्णी निर्ऋतिं चतुष्पथे यजेत ॥१७॥
तस्याजिनमूर्ध्वं वालं परिधाय लोहितपा-
त्रस्सप्तगृहान् भैक्षं चरेत् कर्माचक्षाणः ॥१८॥
संवत्सरेण शुध्येत् ॥१९॥
रेतस्स्कन्दनेऽभये ऽरोगेऽस्वप्ने ऽग्नीन्धन
भैक्षचरणानि सप्तरात्रम कृत्वा आज्य-
होमस्समिधो वा रेतस्याभ्याम् ॥२०॥ गौतम ध० सू० २३।१७-२०
तदाहुः कतिधा ऽवकीर्णी प्रविशतीति ॥ १॥ गौ० ध० सू० २५।१

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I, defiled am I, Oh Lust : to Lust svāhā ;" "Injured by lust am I, injured am I, Oh Lust ; to Lust svāhā." Next, he silently places one piece of sacred fuel on the fire, sprinkles water round the fire, offers the *Yajñavastu* (oblation), and approaching the fire worships it, thrice reciting the text, "May the waters sprinkle me." Let him who was asleep when the sun rose remain standing during the day, continent and fasting, and him who was asleep when the sun sets remains in the same position during the night, reciting the *Gayatrī*. He who has looked at an impure person, shall look at the sun and restrain his breath once. Let him who has eaten forbidden food or swallowed impure substances, fast until his entrails are empty. For uttering abuse, speaking an untruth, and doing injury, he shall practise[1] austerities for no longer period than three days and nights. If he lies in his heart only to a Guru regarding small matters even, he destroys himself, seven descendants and seven ancestors. For inter-course with a female of the lowest castes, he shall perform a *Kṛchra* penance during one year. For committing the same sin undesignedly, he shall perform

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1. मरुतः प्राणेनेन्द्रियं बलेनबृहस्पतिं ब्रह्म वर्चसेनाग्निमेवेतरेण सर्वेणेति ॥२॥
सोऽमावास्यायां निश्यग्निमुपसमाधाय प्रायश्चित्ताज्याहुतीर्जुहोति ॥३॥
कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहा ।
कामाभिद्रुग्धोऽस्म्यभिद्रुग्धोऽस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहेति ॥४॥
समिधमाधायानुपर्युक्ष्य यज्ञवस्तु कृत्वोपोत्थाय सं मा
सिञ्चन्त्वित्येतया त्रिरुपतिष्ठेत् ॥५॥

गौतम ध० सू० २५।२-५

सूर्याभ्युदितोब्रह्मचारी तिष्ठेदहरभुञ्जानो
ऽभ्यस्त मितश्च रात्रि जपन् सावित्रीम् ॥२१॥
अशुचिं दृष्टवा ऽऽदित्यमीक्षेत प्राणायामं ॥२२॥
कृत्वा अभोज्यभोजने निष्पुरीषीभावः ॥२३॥
आक्रोशानृतहिंसासु त्रिरात्रपरमं तपः ॥२८॥

गौ० ध० सू० २३।२१-२३; २८

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the same penance during twelve days and nights. For connection with a woman during her courses, he shall perform the same penance for three days and nights.[1]

According to *Vasiṣṭha*, he who violates his Guru's bed shall cut off his organ together with the testicles, take them in his joined hands and walk towards the south ; whenever he meets with an obstacle, there he shall stand until he dies ; or having shaved all his hair and smeared his body with clarified butter, he shall embrace the heated iron-image of a woman. It is declared in the Veda that he is purified after death. If a student has approached a woman, he shall sacrifice an ass, which is sacred to the *Rākṣasas*, in the common fire in a forest or where four roads meet, or he may offer an oblation[2] of rice to *Nirṛti*. He shall throw the oblations with the mantra—"To Lust svāhā etc."

According to *Baudhāyana*, he who has defiled his Guru's bed shall lay himself down on a heated iron-bed ; or embrace

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1. न तु खलु गुर्वर्थेषु ॥३१॥
सप्त पुरुषानितश्च परतश्च हन्ति
मनसा ऽपि गुरोरनृतं वदन्नल्पेष्वप्यर्थेषु ॥३२॥
अन्तावसायिनीगमने कृच्छ्राब्दः ॥३३॥
अमत्या द्वादश रात्रः ॥३४॥
उदक्यागमने त्रिरात्रस्त्रिरात्रः ॥३५॥
गौतम ध० सू० २३।३१-३५

2. गुरु तल्पगः सवृषणं शिश्नमुत्कृत्याञ्जला-
वाधाय दक्षिणामुखो गच्छेत् ॥१४॥
यत्रैव प्रतिहन्यात् तत्र तिष्ठेदाप्रलयम् ॥१५॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २०।१४; १५

ब्रह्मचारी चेत्स्त्रियमुपेयादरण्ये चतुष्पथे
लोकिकेऽग्नौ रक्षो दैवतं गर्दभं पशुमालभेत,
नैर्ऋतँ वा चरुँ निर्वपेत्, तस्य जुहुयात्
कामाय स्वाहा, काम कामाय स्वाहा
रक्षो देवताभ्यः स्वाहा ॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २३।१

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the red-hot image of a woman; or cutting off his organ together with the testicles and holding them in his joined hands, he shall walk towards the south-west until he falls down dead. A student approaching a woman is called *Avakīrṇin*—he shall offer an ass as the sacrificial animal; the sacrificial.....shall be offered to *Nirṛti* or to *Rākṣas* or to *Yama*, or he may keep fuel on the fire on the night of the new moon, perform the preparatory rites required for the *Darvi homa* and offer two oblations of clarified butter. After he has made the offering, he shall address the fire, closely joining his hands turning sideways, with the following texts:—"May the *Marutas* grant me, etc., etc."[1]

According to *Āpastamba*, if the pupil commits faults, the teacher shall always reprove him. Frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, and banishment from the teacher's presence are the punishments which are to be used, according to the severity of the fault, until the pupil leaves of sinning. He who has had connection with a Guru's wife shall cut off

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1. गुरु तल्पगस्तप्ते लोहशयने शयीत ॥१४॥
सूर्मिं वा ज्वलन्तीं श्लिष्येत् ॥१५॥
लिङ्गं वा सवृषणं परिवास्याञ्जलावाधाय
दक्षिण प्रतीच्यो दिशमन्तरेण गच्छेदानिपतनात् ॥१६॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।१।१४-१६
ये ब्रह्मचारी स्त्रियमुपेयात् सोऽवकीर्णी ॥३५॥
स गर्दभं पशुमालभेत ॥३६॥
नै ऋ्तः पशु पुरोडाशश्च रक्षो देवतो यम देवतो वा ॥३७॥
शिश्नात् प्राशित्रमप्स्व वदा नैश्चरन्तीति विज्ञायते ॥३८॥
अपि वा ऽमावास्यायां निश्यग्निमुपसमाधाय दर्विहोमिकीं
परिचेष्टां कृत्वा द्वे आज्याहुती जुहोति ॥३९॥
कामावकीर्णी ऽस्म्यवकीर्णी ऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा ॥४०॥
कामाभिद्रुग्धो ऽस्म्यभिद्रुग्धो ऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा ॥४१॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।१।३५-४१

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his organ together with the testicles, take them into his joined hands and walk towards the south without stopping until he falls down dead, or he may die embracing a heated metal image of a woman. A student who has broken the vow of chastity, shall offer to *Nirrti* an ass, according to the manner of the *Pākayajña-rites*. A śūdra shall eat the remainder of that offering. It further states that he who abuses a person, who on account of his venerability ought not to be abused, or speaks on untruth regarding any small matter must abstain for three days from milk. pungent condiments and salt. After having eaten forbidden food, he must fast, until his entrails are empty. That is generally attained after seven days. Enjoyment taken unrighteously he shall give up ; he shall say, "I and sin do not dwell together."[1] Clothing himself with a garment reaching from the navel down to the knee, bathing daily—morning, noon and evening—eating

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1. गुरुतल्पगामी स वृषणौ शिश्नंपरिवास्याञ्जला-
वाधाय दक्षिणां दिशमना वृतिं व्रजेत् ॥ १॥
ज्वलितां वा सूमि परिष्वज्य समाप्नुयात् ॥ २॥
आप० ध० सू० १।९।२५।१-२

गर्दभेनावकीर्णी निर्ऋतिं पाकयज्ञेन यजेत् ॥ ८॥
तस्य शूद्रः प्राश्नीयात् ॥ ९॥
आप० ध० सू० १।९।२६।८-९

अपराधेषु चैनं सततमुपालभेत ॥२८॥
अभित्रास उपवास उदकोपस्पर्शनमदर्शन
मिति दण्डा यथामात्र मा नि वृत्तेः ॥२९॥
आप० ध० सू० १।२।८।२८-२९,

अना क्रोश्यमाक्रुश्यानृतं वोक्त्वा त्रिरात्रमक्षीराक्षारालवण भोजनम् ॥ ३॥
आप० ध० सू० १।९।२६।३

अभोज्यं भुक्त्वा नैष्पुरीष्यम् ॥ ३॥
तत्सप्तरात्रेणावाप्यते ॥ ४॥
आप० ध० सू० १।९।२७।३-४

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food which contains neither milk nor pungent, condiments, nor salt, he shall not enter a house for twelve years.[1]

According to *Yājñavalkya* a person committing such a crime, should lie down on a red-hot iron bed with a female figure made of iron, or cutting off his testicles and taking them up, he should renounce his body in the south-western quarter. A violator of a preceptor's bed, must perform the most distressing penance of *Prājāpatya* for a year; or he should study the Veda Saṁhitā and perform the *Cāndrāyaṇa* for three months. For knowing a woman, a Brahmacārin becomes *Avakīrṇī* (*i.e.* a religious student who has committed an act of incontinence): and by sacrificing an ass in honour of the *Nirṛti* Deity he attains purification.[2]

Vidyārambha Saṁskāra

The first step to education was taken by the *Vidyārambha* Saṁskāra or *Akṣara-Svīkaraṇam*—when the alphabet was taught. This Saṁskāra took place at the age of 5 and was usually done for the children of all the castes. The ceremony of *Vidyārambha* followed that of *Cūḍākaraṇa* and later on by Upanayana.

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1. अधर्माहृतान्भोगाननुज्ञाय न वयं चाधर्मश्चेत्यभि व्याहृत्याधो नाभ्युपरि जान्वांच्छाद्य त्रिषवणमुद कमुपस्पृशन्नक्षीराक्षारा लवणं भुञ्जानो द्वादश वर्षाणि नागारं प्रविशेत् ॥११॥
आप ध० सू० १।१०।२८।११

2. तप्तेऽयः शयने सार्द्धमायस्या योषिता स्वपेत् ।
गृहीत्वोत्कृत्य वृषणौ नैर्ऋत्याम्वोत्सृजेत्तनुम् ॥२५८॥
प्राजापत्यं चरेत्कृच्छ्रं समां वा गुरुतल्पगः ।
चान्द्रायणं वात्रीन्मासानभ्यसन् वेद संहिताम् ॥२५९॥
अवकीर्णी भवेद् गत्वा ब्रह्मचारी तु योषिताम् ।
गर्दभं पशुमालभ्य नैर्ऋत्यं स विशुध्यति ॥२८०॥
याज्ञ० ३।२५८-२५९, २८०

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How to begin a lesson :

According to *Gautama*, a student should hold with his right hand the left hand of his teacher and should say :— "Venerable Sir, recite." He should fix his eyes and mind on the teacher. He should touch with Kuśā grass the seat of the vital airs. He should recite the five *Vyāhṛtis* preceded by "*Om*". Every morning the feet of the teachers must he embraced by the pupil and also at the end of a lesson in the Veda. He should first get permission and then sit on the right of his teacher. His face should be towards the east or towards the north. He should recite *Sāvitrī*. All these acts must be performed at the beginning of the instruction in the Veda. He must recite "*Om*" before every mantra of the Veda. If any one passes between the teacher and the pupil, the worship of the teacher must be performed once more. If a dog, an ichneumon, a snake, a frog or a cat pass between them a three days' fast and a journey is necessary. In case, some other animals happen to pass between them, then the pupil must thrice restrain his breath and eat clarified butter.[1] No lesson will be given in the burial ground. A pupil shall go to the teacher and study after having been called by the teacher, but he would not request him to begin the lesson himself. He shall turn his

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1. पाणिना सव्यमुप सङ्गृह्याऽगुष्ठमधीहि भो इत्यामन्त्रयेत गुरुम् ॥५२॥
तत्र चक्षुर्मनाः ॥५३॥
प्राणोपस्पर्शनं दर्भैः ॥५४॥
प्राणायामास्त्रयः पञ्चदशमात्राः ॥५५॥
प्राक्कूलेष्वासनं च ॥५६॥
ओं पूर्वा व्याहृतयः पञ्ज सत्यान्ताः ॥५७॥
गुरोः पादोपसङ्ग्रहणं प्रातः ॥५८॥
ब्रह्मानुवचने चाद्यन्तयोः ॥५९॥
अनुज्ञात उपविशेत् प्राङ्मुखो दक्षिणतः शिष्य उदङ्मुखो वा ॥६०॥
सावित्री चानु वचनमादितो ब्रह्मण आदाने ॥६१॥
गौतम ध० सू० १।५२-६१

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face towards his teacher, though the latter does not turn his face towards him. He shall sit neither too near nor too far from the teacher[1].

According to *Āpastamba*, a religious student who retains what he has learned, who finds pleasure in the fulfilment of the law, who keeps the rules of studentship, who is upright and forgiving, attains perfection. Everyday he shall rise in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher, salute him with this salutation ; "I so, and so, ho ! salute thee". He shall also salute, before the morning meal, other very aged learned Brāhmaṇas, who may live in the same village. A Brāhmaṇa shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a Kṣatriya holding it on a level with the breast, a Vaiśya holding it on a level with the waist, a Śūdra holding it low and stretching forward the joined hands. But when he meets his teacher after sunrise coming from his lesson, he shall embrace his feet. On all other occasions he shall salute him in the manner described above[2]. But some declare that he ought

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1. ओङ्कारो ऽन्यत्रापि ॥६२॥
अन्तरागमने पुन रुपसदनम् ॥६३॥
श्वनकुल सर्प मण्डूक मार्जाराणां त्र्यहमुपवासो विप्रवासश्च ॥६४॥
प्राणायामा घृतप्राशनं चेतरेषाम् ॥६५॥
श्मशानाभ्यध्ययने चैवं श्मशानाभ्यध्ययने चैवम् ॥६६॥
आहूताध्यायी ॥३६॥

गौतम ध० सू० १।६२-६६; २।३६

2. स्वाध्यायकर्मधर्म रुचिस्तपस्व्यजुर्मृदुः सिध्यति ब्रह्मचारी ॥११॥
सदा महान्तमपर रात्रमुत्थाय गुरोस्तिष्ठन् प्रात-
रभिवादमभिवादयीता सावहं भो इति ॥१२॥
समानग्रामे च वसतामन्येषामपि वृद्ध तराणां प्राक्प्रातराशात् ॥१३॥
दक्षिणं बाहुं श्रोत्रसमं प्रसार्य ब्राह्मणो ऽभिवादयीतोरः समं
राजन्यो मध्य समं वैश्यो नीचैः शूद्रः प्राञ्जलिम् ॥१६॥

आप० ध० सू० १।२।५।११-१३; १६

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to embrace the feet of his teacher at every occasion instead of saluting him. He shall be very attentive the whole day long, never allowing his mind to wander from the lesson during the time devoted to study. At other times he shall be attentive to the business of his teacher. During the time for rest he shall give his mind to doubtful passages of the lesson learnt. He shall study after having been called by the teacher and not request the teacher to begin the lesson. The syllable '*Om*' is the door of heaven. Therefore, he who is about to study the Veda, shall begin his lesson by pronouncing it. If he has spoken anything else than what refers to the lesson, he shall resume his reading by repeating the word '*Om*'. Thus the Veda is separated from profane speech.[1]

Term and Time of Study

According to *Gautama*, the boy shall remain a student for twelve years in order to study one Veda or if he studies all the Vedas, twelve years for each, or for as long as

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1. उदिते त्वादित्ये आचार्येण समेत्योपसङ्ग्रहणम् ॥१८॥
सदैवाभिवादनम् ॥१९॥
उपसंग्राह्य आचार्य इत्येके ॥२०॥
सर्वाह्णं सुयुक्तो ऽध्ययनादनन्तरो ध्याये ॥२३॥
तथा गुरुकर्मसु ॥२४॥
मनसा चानध्याये ॥२५॥
आहूताध्यायी च स्यात् ॥२६॥
अभिमुखो नभिमुखम् ॥२०॥
अनासन्नोऽनतिदूरे ॥२१॥
श्मशाने सर्वतः शय्या प्रासात् ॥ ६॥
ओंकारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माधनेष्यमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ६॥
विकथां चान्यां कृत्वैवं लौकिक्या वाचा व्यावर्तते ब्रह्म ॥ ७॥
आप० ध० सू० १।२।५।१८-२०, २३-२६; १।२।६।२०-२१; १।३।९।६; १।४।१३।६-७

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required for learning them. The annual term for studying the Veda begins on the full-moon of the month of *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August) ; or let him perform the *Upākarman* on the full-moon of *Bhādrapada* (August-September) and study the Vedic texts during four months and a half or during five months, or as long as the sun moves towards the South.[1]

According to *Vasiṣṭha*, on the full-moon day of either *Śrāvaṇa* or *Bhādra*, having kindled the fire and performed the rites of fire-laying, the student pours oblations to Gods, Ṛṣis and Vedas. Having made the Brāhmaṇas prononuce the benedictory syllable *Svasti*, he shall eat curd and then start the Vedic study, and continue it for four and a half or five and a half months. After that he is to study the Veda only during the brighter fortnight ; but the subsidiary sciences, he may read whenever he likes.[2]

According to *Baudhāyana*, the period of study of the Veda for a student lasts for 48 years ; or for 24 years : or for 12 years over each Veda ; or for one year over each *Kāṇḍa*—till it has been got up.[3]

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1. द्वादश वर्षाण्येक वेदे ब्रह्मचर्यं चरेत् ॥५२॥
   प्रतिद्वादश वा ॥५३॥
   सर्वेषु ग्रहणान्तं वा ॥५४॥
   श्रवणादि वार्षिकं प्रोष्टपदीं वोपाकृत्याधीयीतच्छन्दांसि ॥ १॥
   अर्धपंचमान् मासान् पंच दक्षिणायनं वा ॥ २॥
   गौतम ध० सू० २।५२-५४; १६।१-२

2. अथातः स्वाध्यायोपाकर्म श्रावण्यां प्रोष्टपद्यां वा ऽग्नि-
   मुपसमाधाय कृताधानो जुहोति देवेभ्यः ऋषिभ्यश्छन्दोभ्यश्चेति ॥१॥
   ब्राह्मान्स्वस्तिवाच्य दधि प्राश्य ततोऽध्यायानुपा कुर्वीरन् ॥२॥
   अर्धपञ्चममासानर्धषष्ठान्वाऽत ऊर्ध्वं शुक्लपक्षेष्वधीयीत,
   कामं तु वेदाङ्गानि ॥३॥

3. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि पौराणं वेद ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥१॥
   चतुर्विंशति द्वादश वा प्रतिवेदम् ॥२॥
   संवत्सरावमं वा प्रतिकाण्डम् ॥३॥
   ग्रहणान्तं वा जीवितस्यास्थिरत्वात् ॥४॥
   बौधयन ध० सू० १।२।१-४

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According to *Āpastamba*, a student shall dwell in the house of his teacher for fortyeight years, if he learns all the four Vedas, or a quarter less *i.e.* for thirty-six years, or less by half *i.e.* for twenty-four years or three quarters less *i.e.* for twelve years, which should be the shortest time for his residence with his teacher. After having performed the *Upākarma* for studying the Veda on the full-moon of the month *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August), he shall for one month not study in the evening. On the full-moon of the month of *Pauṣa* (December-January), or under the constellation *Rohiṇī*, he shall leave off reading the Veda. Some declare that he shall study for four months and a half.[1]

According to *Yājñavalkya* in studying each Veda, one should lead the life of a religious student for twelve years, or for five years as the minimum. Some say (one should observe) *Brahmacarya* while studing the Vedas. One should have his hairs shaven in the sixteenth year beginning with conception.[2]

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1. उपेतस्याचार्यकुले ब्रह्मचारि वासः ॥११॥
अष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि ॥१२॥
पादूनम् ॥१३॥
अर्धेन ॥१४॥
त्रिभिर्वा ॥१५॥
द्वादशावराध्यँम् ॥१६॥
न ब्रह्मचारिणो विद्यार्थस्य परोपवासो ऽस्ति ॥१७॥
श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यामध्यायमुपाकृत्य मासं प्रदोषे नाधीयीत ॥१॥
तैष्यां पौर्णमास्यां रोहिण्यां वा विरमेत् ॥२॥
अर्ध पञ्चमां श्चतुरो मासानित्येके ॥३॥

आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।१।२।११-१७; १।३।९।१-३

2. प्रतिवेदं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशाब्दानि पञ्च वा।
ग्रहणान्तिकमित्येके केशान्तश्चैव षोडशे ॥३६॥ याज्ञ० १।३६ तथा च
षट् त्रिंशदाब्दिकं चर्यं गुरौ त्रैवेदिकं व्रतम्।
तदर्धिकं पादिकं वा ग्रहणान्तकमेव वा ॥ मनु० ३।१

(*Continued on next page*)

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Academic Session

Having discussed about the age and period, the time and term of study, we now propose to study the Academic Session, *i.e.* the actual days of teaching in the Brāhmaṇical schools within a year. The school-term starts with the *Upākarman Sanskāra* on the *Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā*. From this opening day, study in the evening is not permitted. This term continues for a month till the *Pauṣa Pūrṇimā* or the *Rohiṇī* day when the term ends by the performance of the *Utsarjana* ceremony. After this, the student stops reading the Veda. In this way, the term comprises five and a half months in the year, *viz.*, latter half of *Śrāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, Āśvina, Kārtika, Mārgaśīṣa* and the first half of *Pauṣa* [see Āpas. D. S. 1.3.9]. Manu Smṛti [iv. 95-6] makes it of four and a half months by prescribing an alternate date of the full moon of *Bhādrapada* for *Upākarma Saṅskāra* and for the *Utsarjana*, the *Pauṣya* (or sixth) day of *Pauṣa* or the first day of the bright half of *Māgha*. Hence the term lasts for six and a half months or five and a half months [Śāṅkh, iv.6. 7, 8]. It may be further noted that during the period, when the teaching was not done, the private study of students was not to be interrupted. According to *Manu Smṛti* (iv. 98), after the performance of the *Utsarjana* ceremony, a student studies the Veda during the light nights (*Śukla pakṣa*) of each month until the full-moon of *Śrāvaṇa*, and in the dark fortnight (*kṛṣṇa pakṣa*) of each month, he is to learn all the *Vedāṅgas*. When the sacred literature became more extensive and new branches of learning were developed like Grammar, Philosophy, Astronomy, Philology and Dharma Śāstra, the short session of about six months found to be inadequate and studies began to be pursued

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वेदव्रतोपवासेन चतुर्थे चायुषो गते ॥२८॥
गुरवे दक्षिणां दत्त्वा समावर्त्तेद् यथाविधि ॥२९॥
महाभारते शान्तिपर्वे अ० २४२

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throughout the year. Students, going from Rāja gṛha (near Patna) and Benaras to Taxila, used to return home only when the whole course was over (Jātaka No. 252).

Holidays and Cessation of Study

We find a systematic list of holidays only in post-Vedic literature. Many of these go back to very early times. Regular holidays were four in the month at an interval of a week, *i.e.* on the new and full-moon days and the eighth day of each fortnight.[1] The work was stopped when the peace of the locality was disturbed by an invasion, or by incursions of robbers or cattle-lifters, or when the King or a Brāhmaṇa of the village had met with an accident or died. Arrival of distinguished guests led to the suspension of studies,—for a good deal of time and energy of both the teachers and the students had to be devoted to make the guests comfortable. Abnormal weather conditions giving rise to untimely clouds, thunder, heavy showers, frost, dust-storms etc., were also regarded as sufficient causes to suspend studies. When the howling of jackals, crying of wolves, screeching of owls, braying of donkeys or barking of dogs was heard, teaching was sometimes temporarily stopped. Some educationists apprehended that gods would become angry if the sanctity of the Vedas was defiled by their being studied on such occasions[2]. Others were of the opinion that silent reading was

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1. हन्त्यष्टमी ह्युपाध्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्दशी ।
हन्ति पञ्चदशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वणि वर्जयेत् ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।११।४३

2. छिद्राण्याहु द्विजातीनामनध्यायान्मनीषिणः ।
छिद्रेभ्यः स्रवति ब्रह्म ब्राह्मणेन यदर्जितम् ॥
आयुः प्रजां पशून्मेधां कृन्तामि सुकृतं च यत् ।
अनध्यायेष्वधीयतः ब्रह्म-व्याहरतस्तथा ॥
अपराकोक्तं याज्ञवल्क्ये १।१४२-१५१

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not intended to be interdicted.[1] The *Manu Smrti* and *Kūrma Purāṇa* state that non-Vedic works would be studied on the official holidays.[2] Holidays allowed to the youngsters were to be more numerous than those to be allowed to advanced students.[3] In the case of serious students, apart from the four monthly holidays, studies seem to have been suspended since early times only when they themselves or the place they were studying was impure.[4] In *Bhavabhūtī's Uttara-Rāma-Charita* (Act iv. Belvarkar's English Translation, p. 60), we find the pupils of *Vālmikī's* hermitage delighted at the thought that the royal guests would bring with them a holiday for them.[5] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*), we find that all study and *Śāstric* discussions were stopped when Ramā left Ayodhyā for Daṇḍakāraṇya forest, when he was banished.

According to *Gautama* the student shall not recite the Veda, if the wind whirls up the dust in the day-time, nor if the sound of a Vāṇa of a large or a small drum, the noise of a chariot, and the wail of a person in pain are heard, nor if the barking of many dogs and jackals, or the

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1. मनसा चानध्याये । बौधायन ध० सू० १।१।१।४०
   आप० ध० सू० १।३।११।२४
2. निर्घाते भूमिचलने ज्योतिषां चोपसर्जने ।
   एतानाकालिकान् विद्यादनध्यायानृतावपि ॥ मनु० २।१०५
   नानध्यायोऽस्ति चांगेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः ।
   न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वाण्येतानि वर्जयेत् ॥ कूर्मपुराणे
3. तत्र सर्वत्र प्राज्ञाध्येतृ विषयेण गुरुलघु कालानां व्यवस्थाज्ञेया ।
4. (i) T. A. II. 15 ; {V. M. S. P. 536
   (ii) द्वावेव वर्जयेन्नित्यमनध्यायौ प्रयत्नतः ।
   स्वाध्यायभूमिं चाशुद्धा मात्मानं चाशुचिं द्विजः ॥ मनु० ४।१२७
5. सौधातकि :—
   स्वागतमनेक प्रकाराणां जीर्णकूर्चानामनध्याय कारणानाम् ।

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braying of many donkeys is heard, nor if the sky appears flaming red, a rainbow is seen, or hoar-frost lies on the ground, nor if clouds rise out of season. Let him not study when he feels the necessity to avoid urine or excrements, nor at mid-night, in the twilight and while standing in the water, nor while rain falls, nor when the teachers of the gods and Asuras, *i.e.* the planets Jupiter and Venus are surrounded by a halo, nor when this happens to the two great lights—the sun and the moon, nor when he is in fear, riding in a carriage or on beasts of burden, or lying down, nor while his feet are raised nor in a burial ground, at the extremity of a village, on a high-road, nor during impurity nor while a foul smell is perceptible,[1] while a corpse or a Cāṇḍāla is in the village, nor in the neighbourhood of a Śūdra, nor while he suffers from sour eructations. The Ṛgveda and the Yajurveda shall not be studied while the sound of the Sāmans is heard. The fall of lightning, an

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1. नाधीयीत वायौ दिवा पांसुहरे ॥ ५॥
कर्ण श्रावणि नक्तम् ॥ ६॥
वाणभेरी मृदङ्ग गर्तार्त शब्देषु ॥ ७॥
श्व शृगालगर्दभसंह्रादे ॥ ८॥
लोहितेन्द्र धनुर्नीहारेषु ॥ ९॥
अब्भ्रदर्शने चापर्तौ ॥१०॥
मूत्रित उच्चारितः ॥११॥
निशासन्ध्योदकेषु ॥१२॥
वर्षति च ॥१३॥
एके वलीकसन्तानम् ॥१४॥
आचार्य परिवेषणे ॥१५॥
ज्योतिषोश्च ॥१६॥
भीतो यानस्थ श्शयानः प्रौढपादः ॥१७॥
श्मशान ग्रामान्त महापथाशौचेषु ॥१८॥
पूतिगन्धान्तश्शवदिवाकीर्त्य शूद्रसंनिधाने ॥१९॥
गौतम ध० सू० १६।५-१९

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earthquake, an eclipse and the fall of meteors are reasons for discontinuing the reading of the Veda until the same time next day, likewise when it thunders and rains and when lightning flashes out of season after the fires have become visible in the twilight. If these phenomena appear during the rainy season, the reading must be stopped for a day or a night, and if lightning is observed during the night, the recitation of the Veda shall be interrupted until the third watch. If lightning flashes during the third part of the day or later, the Veda must not be read during the entire following night. According to the opinion of some, a fiery meteor has the same effect as lightning, likewise thunder which is heard during the last part of the day, or also in the twilight.[1] If thunder is heard before midnight, the study of the Veda must be interrupted during the night. If it is heard during the early part of the day, the interruption must continue as long as the sun shines. Like

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1. शुक्तके चोद्गारे ॥२०॥
ऋग्यजुषां च साम शब्दो यावत् ॥२१॥
आकालिका निर्घात भूमिकम्प राहुदर्शनोल्का: ॥२२॥
स्तनयित्नु वर्षविद्युतश्च प्रादुष्कृताग्निषु ॥२३॥
अहर्ऋतौ ॥२४॥
विद्युति नक्तं चापररात्रात् ॥२५॥
त्रिभागादि प्रवृत्तौ सर्वम् ॥२६॥
उल्का विद्युत्समेत्येकेषाम् ॥२७॥
स्तनयित्नुरपराह्णे ॥२८॥
अपि प्रदोषे ॥२९॥
सर्वं नक्तमार्धरात्रात् ॥३०॥
अहश्चित्सज्योति: ॥३१॥
विषयस्थे च राज्ञि प्रेते ॥३२॥
विप्रोष्य चान्योन्येन सह ॥३३॥
सङ्कुलोपाहित वेद समाप्तिच्छर्दि श्राद्धमनुष्य यज्ञ भोजनेष्वहोरात्रम् ॥३४॥
गौतम ध० सू० १६।२०-३४

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wise if the king of the country has died. If one pupil has gone on a journey and another stays with the teacher, the study of the Veda shall be interrupted until the absentee returns. When an attack is made on the village, or a fire brecks out, when one Veda has been completed, after an attack of vomiting, when he has partaken of a funeral repast or of a dinner on the occasion of a sacrifice offered to men, the study of the Veda shall be interrupted for a day and a night, likewise on the day of the newmoon, on the latter occassion it may also be interrupted for two days. The Veda shall not be studied for a day and a night on full-moon days of the months *Kārtika*, *Phālguna*, and *Aṣāḍha*. On the three *Aṣṭakas*, the Veda shall not be studied for three days and nights[1]. Some declare that the rule applies to the last *Aṣṭaka* only. On the occasion of the annual *Upākarman* and *Utsarga* the reading shall be interrupted on the day of the ceremony and those preceding and following it. All teachers declare that the reading shall be interrupted for three days when rain, thunder and lightning are observed simultaneously, when the rain is very heavy, the reading shall be interrupted as long as it lasts. On a festive day the reading shall be stopped after the morning meal, and he who has begun to study after the *Upākarman* shall not read at night for four *Muhūrtas*. Some declare that the recitation of the Veda is always forbidden in a town. While he is impure he shall not even recite the Veda mentally. The study of those who offer a funeral sacrifice must be interrupted until the same time next day, and those rules regarding the stoppage of the

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1. अमावास्यायां च ॥३५॥
   द्वयहं वा ॥३६॥
   कार्तिकीफाल्गुन्याषाढी पौर्णमासी ॥३७॥
   तिस्रोऽष्टकास्त्रि रात्रम् ॥३८॥
   गौतम ध० सू० १६।३५-३८

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reading must be observed which they teach in the several schools.[1]

According to *Vasiṣṭha*, at sunset, during the twilight, if there is a dead-body in the house, or a Cāṇḍāla in cities, in places where cow-dung has been lying overnight, or which bear marks of the cow-dung, near the cremation-ground, while one is lying down, or after one has taken part in a *Śrādha*. Fruits, water, sesamum, articles of food and other things connected with *Śrādha*,—on accepting the gift of these, it is unfit for study; Brāhmaṇas having been declared to have their hands for their mouths. While one is running, when there is rotting smell and other such things spreading, seated on a tree, on the boat, in the army, after meals, while the hands are still wet, while the flute is being played, on the fourteenth day, on the moonless day, on the *Aṣṭaka*

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1. अन्त्यामेके ॥३६॥
अभितो वार्षिकम् ॥४०॥
सर्वे वर्षविद्युत्स्तनयित्नु संनिपाते ॥४१॥
प्रस्यन्दिनि ॥४२॥
ऊर्ध्वं भोजनादुत्सवे ॥४३॥
प्राघीतस्य च ॥४४॥
निशायां चतुर्मुहूर्तम् ॥४५॥
नित्यमेके नगरे ॥४६॥
मानसमप्यशुचिः ॥४७॥
श्राद्धिनामा कालिकम् ॥४८॥
अकृतान्न श्राद्धिक संयोगे च ॥४९॥
प्रतिविद्यं च यान् स्मरन्ति यान् स्मरन्ति ॥५०॥
गौतम ध० सू० १६।३६-५०

1. सन्ध्यास्तमिते सन्ध्यास्वन्तः शवदिवा कीर्त्येषु
नगरेषु कामं गोमय पर्युषिते परिलिखिते वा
श्मशानान्ते शयानस्य श्राद्धिकस्य ॥५॥
फलान्यपस्तिलान्भक्षा इति ॥७॥

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days, while he is thrusting forward his feet, before the cloth worn during sexual inter-course has been washed, in the outskirts of the village, when one has vomited or passed urine or evacuated the bowels, while there are sounds of the reciting of Ṛg, Yajus, Sāman, until the food has become digested, while there is thunder, earthquake, solar or lunar eclipse, when there is rumbling in the quarters or in the mountains or shaking of the mountains, when there is rain of flesh or blood or dust, it is to be unfit for study till the same time next day. When meteors and lightning appear together, three days are unfit for study. The Śūdras are the same as the cremation-ground, therefore, one should not read near the Śūdra.[1]

(*Continued from previous page*)

धावतः पूतिगन्ध प्रभृतावीरिणे, वृक्षमारूढस्य,
नाविसेनायां च भुक्त्वा चाऽऽर्द्रपाणे र्वाण शब्दे
चतुर्दश्याममावास्यामष्टम्यामष्टकासु प्रसारित-
पादोपस्थकृतस्थोपाश्रित्य च गुरुसमीपे
मैथुनव्यपेतायाम् । वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १३।५,७,८,

तथा च

अथातः स्वाध्यायोपाकर्म श्रावण्यां
पौर्णमास्यां प्रोष्ठपद्यां वाऽग्निमुपसमाधाय
कृताधानो जुहोति देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्य-
श्छन्दोभ्यश्चेति ॥१॥
तस्यानध्यायाः ॥४॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १३।१, ४

1. वाससा मैथुनव्यपेतेनानिर्णिक्तेन ग्रामान्ते छर्दितस्य मूत्रितस्यो-
च्चारितस्य ऋग्यजुषां च साम शब्दे वाऽजीर्णे निर्घाते
भूमिचलने चन्द्र सूर्योपरागेदिङ्नादपर्वतनाद कम्पप्रपातेषू-
पलरुधिर पांशु वर्षेष्वा कालिकम् ॥८॥
उल्का विद्युत् समासे त्रिरात्रम् ॥९॥
एके वै तच्छ्मशानं ये शूद्रास्तस्माच् छूद्र समीपे नाध्येतव्यम् ॥१०॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १३।८,९; १८।९

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According to *Baudhāyana* when there is a rotting smell in the wind, when there is a fog and when there are sounds of dancing, music, musical instruments, weeping and Sāma-singing, it will be unfit for study so long as these last. When there are thunder, rain and lightning, three days become unfit for study, except during the annual rains. During the time that the Śūdra hears or sees study shall be stopped.[1]

When the Jackals' cry is heard at night, one shall not read till he goes to sleep. On accepting a gift in honour of the *Pitṛs* and on eating at *Śrāddha*, the rest of the day is unfit for study. At birth and at death, there is to be no study, even, in the mind.[2]

According to *Āpastamba*, one shall avoid the study of Veda on a high-road. He shall never study in a burial-ground nor anywhere near it within the throw of a *Samyā*. A Sūdra and an outcaste are included by the term burial-ground, if a student and a Śūdra woman merely look at each other, the recitation of the Veda must be interrupted. He shall not study in a village in which a corpse lies, nor in such a one where Cāṇḍālas live. He shall not study whilst corpses are being carried to the boundry of the village, nor in a forest, if a corpse of Cāṇḍāla is within sight, and if

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1. वातेपूतिगन्धे नीहारे च नृत्त गीत वादित्र रुदित
सामशब्देषु तावन्तं कालम् ॥२४॥
स्तनयित्नु वर्षविद्युत् संनिपाते
त्र्यहमनध्यायो ऽन्यत्र वर्षा कालात् ॥२५॥
शूद्रापपात्र श्रवण संदर्शनयोश्च तावन्तं कालम् ॥३५॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।११।२४,२५,३५

2. नक्तं शिवाविराव नाधीयीत स्वप्नान्तम् ॥३६॥
मानसेऽपि जननमरणयोरनध्यायः ॥४१॥
पित्र्यप्रतिग्रह भोजनयोश्च तद् दिवसशेषम् ॥२७॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।११।३६,४१,२७

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outcastes have entered the village, he shall not study on that day, nor if good men have come. If it thunders in the evening, he shall not study during the night. If lightning is seen in the evening, he shall not study during that night, until he has slept[1]. If lightning is seen about the break of dawn, or at the time when he may distinguish at the distance of a *Samya*-throw, whether a cow is black or red, he shall not study during that day, nor in the following evening. If it thunders in the second part of the third watch of the night, he shall not study during the following day or evening. Nor shall he study whilst the cows are prevented from leaving the village on account of thieves and the like, nor on the imprisonment of criminals whilst they are being executed. He shall not study whilst he rides on beasts of burden. At the new-moon, he shall not study for two days and two nights. Nor shall he study on the days of the full-moons of those months in which the *Cāturmāsya*-sacrifice may be performed, nor on the days preceding them. At the time of the *Vedotsarga*, on the death of Gurus, at the *Aṣṭaka-Śrādha*, and at the time of

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1. निगमेष्वध्ययनं वर्जयेत् ॥४॥
श्मशाने सर्वतः शम्याप्रासात् ॥६॥
श्मशान वच्छूद्र पतितौ ॥९॥
शूद्रायां तु प्रेक्षणप्रति प्रेक्षणयोरेवानध्यायः ॥११॥
अन्तः शवम् ॥१४॥
अन्तश्चाण्डालम् ॥१५॥
अभिनिर्हृतानां तु सौम्यनध्यायः ॥१६॥
संदर्शने चारण्ये ॥१७॥
तदहरागतेषु च ग्रामं बाह्येषु ॥१८॥
अपि सत्सु ॥१९॥
संघावनुस्तनिते रात्रिम् ॥२०॥
स्वप्नपर्यन्तं विद्युति ॥२१॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।३।९।४,६,९,११,१४-२१

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the *Upākarma*, he shall not study for three days ; likewise, if near relatives have died. He shall not study for twelve days, if his mother, father or teacher have died[1]. Some declare, that, upon the death of the teacher, the reading should be interrupted for three days and three nights. If he hears of the death of a learned Brāhmaṇa (*Śrotriya*) before a full year since the death has elapsed, he shall interrupt his reading for one night and day. The barking of many dogs, the braying of many asses, the cry of a wolf or of a solitary jackal or of an owl, all sounds of musical instruments, of weeping and of the *Sāman* melodies are reasons for discontinuing the study of the Veda. If another branch of the Veda is being recited in the neighbourhood, the *Sāman* melodies shall not be studied and whilst other noises are being heard, the recitation of the Veda shall be discontinued, if they mix with the voice of the person studying. After having vomited, he shall not study until he has slept. A foul smell is a reason for the discontinuance of study. Food turned sour by fermentation which he had in his stomach is a reason for the discontinuance of the recitation, until the sour rising ceases, nor

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1. उपव्युषं यावता वा कृष्णां रोहिणीमिति शम्या प्रासाद्विजानीया-
देतस्मिन्काले विद्योतमाने सप्रदोषमहरनध्यायः ॥२२॥
दह्रे पररात्रे स्तनयित्नुना ॥२३॥
गवां चावरोधे ॥२५॥
वध्यानां च यावता हन्यन्ते ॥२६॥
पृष्ठारूढः पशूनां नाधीयीत ॥२७॥
अहोरात्रावमावास्यासु ॥२८॥
आप० ध० सू० १।३।९।२२-२३,२५-२८
चातुर्मासीषु च ॥१॥
वैरमणो गुरुष्वष्टाक्य औपाकरण इति त्र्यहाः ॥२॥
तथा संबन्धेषु ज्ञातिषु ॥३॥
मातरि पितर्याचार्य इति द्वादशाहाः ॥४॥
आप० ध० सू० १।३।१०।१-४

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shall he study after having eaten in the evening, nor as long as his hands are wet. If the wind roars, or if it whirls up the grass on the ground, or if it drives the rain-drops forward during a rain-shower, then the recitation shall be interrupted for so long a time as the storm lasts.[1] Nor shall he study on the boundary between a village and forest, nor on a highway. If some of his fellow-students are on a journey, he shall not study during that day, the passage which they learn together and whilst performing acts for his pleasure, such as washing his feet, shampooing or anointing himself, he shall neither study nor teach, as long as he is thus occupied. He shall not study or teach in the twilight, nor whilst sitting on a tree, nor whilst immersed in water, nor at night with open door, nor in the day-time with shut doors. During the spring festival and the festival of *Indra*, in the month of *Āṣādha* (June-July), the study of an *Anuvāka* is forbidden. The recitation of the daily portion of the Veda at the *Brahmayajña* is likewise forbidden if done in a manner differing from the rule of the Veda. Where lightning, thunder and rain happen together out of season, the reci-

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1. आचार्ये त्रीनहोरात्रानित्येके ॥१०॥
श्रोत्रियसंस्थायाम् परिसंवत्सरायामेकाम् ॥११॥
श्वगर्दभनादाः सलावृक्येक सृकोलूकशब्दाः
सर्वेवादित्रशब्दाः रोदन गीतसामशब्दाश्च ॥१९॥
शाखान्तरे च साम्नामनध्यायः ॥२०॥
सर्वेषु च शब्द कर्मसु यत्र संसृज्येरन् ॥२१॥
छर्दयित्वा स्वप्नान्तम् ॥२२॥
पूतीगन्धः ॥२४॥
शुक्तं चात्म संयुक्तम् ॥२५॥
प्रदोषे च भुक्त्वा ॥२६॥
प्रोदकयोश्च पाण्योः ॥२७॥
वायुर्घोषवान् भूमौ वा तृण संवाहो वर्षति वा यत्र धाराः प्रवहेत् ॥८॥
आप ध० सू० १।३।१०।१०-११,१९-२२,२४-२७; १।३।११।८

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tation shall be interrupted for three days.[1] In the case of an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, of an earthquake, of a whirl-wind, of the fall of a meteor, or of a fire in the village, at whatever time these events happen, the recitation of all the sacred sciences—Vedas and *Angas* must be interrupted from that hour until the same hour next day. If a cloud appears out of season, if the sun or the moon is surrounded by a halo, if a rainbow, a parhelion or a comet appears, if a high wind blows, a foul smell is observed, or hoar frost lies on the ground, at all these occasions, the recitation of all the sacred sciences must be interrupted during the duration of these phenomena. If the howl of a wolf or of a solitary jackal has been heard, he shall stop the reading until he has slept. At night he shall not study in a wood, where there is no fire nor gold. Out of term, he shall not study any part of the Veda which he has not learnt before, nor shall he study during the term some new part of the Veda in the evening. Further particulars, regarding the

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1. ग्रामारण्ययोश्च सन्धौ ॥ ९॥
महापथेच ॥१०॥
विप्रोष्य च ॥११॥
स्वैरिकर्मसु च ॥१२॥
यथा पाद प्रक्षालनोत्सादनानु लेपनाणीति ॥१३॥
तावन्तं कालं नाधीयीताध्यापयेद् वा ॥१४॥
सन्ध्योः ॥१५॥
तथा वृक्षमारूढः ॥१६॥
अप्सुचावगाढः ॥१७॥
नक्तं चापावृत्ते ॥१८॥
दिवा चापिहिते ॥१९॥
अविहितमनुवाकाध्ययनमाषाढ वासन्तिकयोः ॥२०॥
नित्यप्रश्नस्य चाविधिना ॥२१॥
विद्युत्स्तनयित्नुर्वृष्टिश्चापर्तौ यत्र संनिपतेयुस्त्र्यहमनध्यायः ॥२७॥
आप० ध० सू० १।३।११।९-२१, २७

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interruption of the Veda-study, may be learnt from the teaching and works of other Vedic Schools. On the day on which, beginning the study of the whole sacred science, the Upaniṣads and the rest, he performs the *Upākarma* in the morning, he shall not study at night.[1]

Syllabus of Studies

It will be interesting to note how the studies were conducted in ancient India. At the Primary stage, boys learnt alphabets at the age of 6 years, elementary grammar and *Siddha* composition at 8, Sūtras of Pāṇini at 10, books on three *Khilas* including details of grammar and composition at 13, "Laws of the Universe and regulations of gods and men" including elementary sciences, history and mythology at 15, composition in verse and prose at 16, for four years logic, metaphysics, Veda, Vedāṅgas at 20, specialization in one of the professional *Vidyās* like medicine etc., at 22 for two years for higher studies.[2]

(*i*) *Four Vedas*:—They are the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajur Veda*, the *Sāma Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*. These were regarded as revealed, but there was a time when a deep prejudice was entertained against the Atharva

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1. सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्ग्रहणे भूमि च लेपखान उल्कायामग्न्युत्पाते च
सर्वासां विद्यानां सार्वकालिकमाकालम् ॥३०॥
अभ्रं चापतौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः परिवेष इन्द्रधनुः प्रति-
सूर्यमत्स्यश्च वाते पूतिगन्धे नीहारे च सर्वेष्वेतेषु तावन्तं कालम् ॥३१॥
सलावृक्यामेकसृक इति स्वप्नपर्यन्तम् ॥३३॥
नक्तं चारण्येनग्नावहिरण्ये वा ॥३४॥
अन नूक्तं चापतौ छन्दसो नाधीयीत ॥३५॥
प्रदोषे च ॥३६॥
यथोक्तमन्यतः परिषत्सु ॥३८॥
सर्वविद्यानामप्युपनिषदामुपाकृत्यानध्ययनं तदहः ॥ १॥
आप ध० सू० १।३।११।३०-३१, ३३-३६, ३८; २।२।५।१

2. *Vide* "University of Nālandā" by H. D. Sankālia.

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Veda, which was, therefore, excluded from the studies. The remaining three Vedas were, therefore, called *Trayī*.

(*ii*) *Six Aṅgas*:—These were the following—1. *Śikṣā*, the science of pronunciation; 2. *Kalpa*, the science of ritualism; 3. *Vyākaṛṇa*, grammar; 4. *Nirukta*, philology; 5. *Chandas*, prosody, and 6. *Jyotiṣa*, astronomy.

(*iii*) *Daśa Granthas*:—These were the following—1. One's own Veda; 2. Its Brāhmaṇa; 3. *Āraṇyaka*; 4. *Nighaṇṭu* and the six *Aṅgas* enumerated above. A graduate, who had mastered all these, was known as a *Daśa Granthī* Brāhmaṇa.

(*iv*) *Fourteen Vidyās*:—During the Pauraṇic period, a person was regarded as a distinguished scholar if he had mastered fourteen *Vidyās*. These were usually taken to be 1-4 Vedas, 5-10 *Ṣaḍaṅgas*, 11. *Dharmaśāstra* (sacred and secular law), 12. *Purāṇas*, 13. *Mīmāñsā* (science of exegis), and 14. *Tarka* (logic). (*Vide* Yājña. 1 . 3).

(*v*) *Eighteen Śilpas*:—1. Vocal music, 2. Instrumental music, 3. Dancing, 4. Painting, 5. Mathematics, 6. Accountancy, 7. Engineering, 8. Sculpture, 9. Agriculture, 10. Cattle-breeding, 11. Commerce, 12. Medicine, 13. Conveyancing and Law, 14. Administrative training, 15. Archery and military art, 16. Magic, 17. Snake-charming and poison antidotes, 18. The art of finding hidden treasures.

Female Education

Coming to the *Smṛtis*, we find that the women were considered incompetent to perform sacrifices[1] and to read the

1. नाश्रोत्रियतते यज्ञे ग्रामयाजिकृते तथा।
स्त्रिया क्लीवेन च हुते भुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणः क्वचित् ॥२०५॥
अश्लीलमेतत् साधूनां यत्र जुह्वत्यमी हविः।
प्रतीपमेतद् देवानां तस्मात् तत् परिवर्जयेत् ॥ मनु० ४।२०५-२०६

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Vedas as they could not be initiated. *Manu Smṛti* declares that initiation of women consisted in their marriage.[1] In ancient time the female education was entirely domestic and vocational. They were being prepared for the duties of the household. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* weaving is the function of women.[2] According to *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, a woman should be skilled in spinning and weaving, must be intelligent enough to manage household affairs and must preserve the earnings of her husband. *Manu* says that the women should be employed in looking after the expenses of the household, in maintaining the cleanliness of their persons and of the house and in looking after the beddings, wearing apparel and household furniture.[3]

A woman should learn in her girlhood, alone in private, the sixty-four kinds of poses which can be learnt by practice only.[4] *Draupadi* is described as lovely, learned and chaste and the best educated woman and a master in keeping accounts.[5]

Śūdras and Women

The Śūdras were generally denied the study of the Vedas only because they had neither the tradition nor the aptitude for acquiring the language and spirit of the Vedic

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1. वैवाहिको विधिः स्त्रीणां संस्कारो वैदिकः स्मृतः ।
पतिसेवा गुरौ वासो गृहार्थोऽग्निपरिक्रिया ॥ मनु० २।६७॥
नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः ।
निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽनृतमिति स्थितिः ॥ मनु० ९।१८
2. शतपथ ब्रा० १२।७।२।११
3. सदा प्रहृष्टया भाव्यं गृहकार्येषु दक्षया ।
सुसंस्कृतोपस्करया व्यये चामुक्तहस्तया ॥ मनु० ५।१५०
4. अभ्यास-प्रयोज्यांश्च चातुः षष्टिकान्
योगान् कन्या रहसि एकाकिन्यभ्यसेत् । कामसूत्र १।३।१४
5. महाभारत वन० २३१ अ०
प्रिया च दर्शनीया च पण्डिता च पतिव्रता ॥

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literature. Indeed it is a bad policy to spend time and energy in making an indifferent priest out of a citizen who could have become an "excellent" soldier or an "expert" craftsman. The Śūdras were described by *Manu* as not eligible for any *Sanskāra*.[1] The verses were to be understood as only implying that he was not entitled to have any of them done with *Vedic Mantras*, as he had no eligibility for the Veda.[2]

Afterwards, *Upanayana* of girls went out of vogue. Some were of the opinion that the status of women was like that of a *Śūdra*.[3] She was unfit to recite *Vedic Mantras* and perform *Vedic* sacrifices. Never should women and the *Śūdras* study. This interdiction is, however, nowhere found in the *Vedas* or any other authoritative book. All men and women (*i.e.* the whole mankind) have a right to study. "As I have given this word (*i.e.* the four Vedas) which is the word of salvation for all beings—*Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras*, women, servants, aye, even the lowest of the low, so should you all do, *i.e.*, teach and preach the *Veda*."[4]

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1. न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यात् नोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् ।
   न चास्योपदिशेद् धर्मं न चास्य व्रतमाचरेत् ॥ मनु० ४।८०
   न शूद्रे पातकं किञ्चिन् न च संस्कारमर्हति ।
   नास्याधिकारो धर्मेऽस्ति न धर्मात् प्रतिषेधनम् ॥ मनु० १०।१२६
2. मंत्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
   स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥
   पाणिनि शिक्षा ५।५२
3. "स्त्री शूद्राश्च सधर्माणः" इति वाक्यात् । व्यवहार मयूख edited by P. V. Kane, p. 112.
   "स्त्री शूद्रौ नाधीयतामिति श्रुतिः ।"
   पिता पितृभ्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत् परः ।
   स्वगृहे चैव कन्यायाः भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ॥
   वदन्ति केचिन् मुनयः स्त्रीणां शूद्र समानताम् ॥ Purāṇāntara in V. M. Paribhāṣa, p. 40.
4. यथेमां वाचं कल्याणीमावदानि जनेभ्यः ।
   ब्रह्मराजन्याभ्यां शूद्राय चार्याय च स्वाय चारणाय ॥यजु० २६।२

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Just as boys acquire sound knowledge and culture by the practice of *Brahmacarya* and then marry girls of their own choice, who are young, well-educated, loving and of like temperament, so should a girl practise *Brahmacarya*, study the *Veda* and other sciences and thereby perfect her knowledge, refine her character, give her hand to a man of her own choice, who is young, learned and loving.[1]

Boarding Houses for Girls

Pāṇini gives a reference to residents at the schools in what were called *chātrīśālā* (vi. 2.86).[2] Women also occupied the exalted position of teachers and were called ācāryā (Pāṇ. iv. 1.49),[3] a counter-example of *ācāryānī*.

Samāvartana Saṁskāra

The student life used to finish with the *Samāvartana* Saṁskāra. Coming out of the room at midday, the student was to shave his head and beard and remove all marks of his student-life. He used to take a bath, the water of which was perfumed with the perfumes, sandal etc., presented by friends and relations of the student. All the external signs of the "*Brahmacarya*" such as the upper and lower garments, girdle, staff, skin were thrown in water. After the bath he becomes a *Snātaka* wearing new garments, two ear-rings and a perforated pellet of sandal wood overlaid with gold at its aperture—the gold which brings gain, superiority in *battles* and in *assemblies* and he prays that he may be loved by all—*Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas*, *Śūdras* and kings [Hiraṇya Keśin i.3.9-11].[4]

1. ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् ॥ अथर्व० ११।१६।३।१८
2. छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् । पा० ६।२।८६
3. इन्द्र वरुण भव शर्वरुद्रमृड हिमारण्य यव यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् । पा० ४।१।४९
4. (i) दीर्घायुषं कृणोतन । ऋ० ४।१५।१०
   (ii) दीर्घायुरस्तु सोमकः । ऋ० ४।१५।९
   (iii) सर्वाहमस्मि रोमशा गन्धारीणामिवाविका ॥ ऋ० १।१२६।७

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The student who completed his study was called *Snātaka*. The epithet *sragvī* (Pāṇ. v. 2.121, wearer of garland) appears also to have been applied to a *Snātaka*. This *srak* was a sign of graduation, different from the ordinary garland for decoration called *mālā*.[1] *Manu* also applies the term *sragvī* to a *Snātaka*.[2]

According to *Gautama*, on completion of studentship, after he had paid his *Dakṣiṇā* and was allowed to leave the *Āśrama*, he was to take a customary bath at his pleasure.[3]

According to *Āpastamba*, he (*i.e.* the teacher) shall dismiss the pupil, after he has performed the ceremony of the *Samāvartana* and has finished his studentship, with these words—"Apply thyself henceforth to other duties."[4] Though he may have returned home, the behaviour towards his teacher and the rest which is prescribed by the rule of conduct settled by the agreement of those who know the law, must be observed by him to the end.

Vidvat Pariṣad

Besides the educational seminaries, there was another institution called the "*Pariṣad*". Every educational settlement in ancient India, and within itself an academy of

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1. *Vide* Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras by V. M. Apte, p. 107.
2. वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वाऽपि यथाक्रमम् ।
   अविप्लुत ब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममावसेत् ॥२॥
   तं प्रतीतं स्वधर्मेण ब्रह्मदाय हरं पितुः ।
   स्नग्विणं तल्प आसीनमर्हयेत् प्रथमं गवा ॥३॥
   गुरुणानुमतः स्नात्वा समावृत्तो यथाविधि ।
   उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्यां सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् ॥४॥ मनु० ३।२-४
3. कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् ॥ गौतम ध० सू० २।५६
4. (i) निवृत्तं चरित ब्रह्मचर्यमन्येभ्यो धर्मेभ्योऽनन्तरो भवेत्यतिसृजेत् ॥
   आप० ध० सू० १।२।८।३०
   (ii) समावृत्तस्याप्येतदेव सामयाचारिकमेतेषु ॥ आप० १।२।७।३१

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learned and religious men, was called a "*Pariṣad*" which consisted at least of ten members. The *Pariṣad* was regarded as an academy of experts from whom emanated authoritative interpretations and decisions on doubtful points of law. The point worth noting is that the representation of the student community on such an authoritative body shows a degree of recognition of their special interests and status. *Gautama*[1] (along with *Vasiṣṭha* and *Baudhāyana*) declares that a *Pariṣad* shall consist atleast of the ten following members, *viz.*, four persons well-versed in the *Vedas*, one student, one householder, one ascetic and three persons versified in three different institutes of law. In the absence of the judgment of the *Pariṣad*, the decision of one Śrotṛya, who knows the *Veda* and is properly instructed in the duties, shall be followed in doubtful cases. For, such a man is incapable of unjustly injuring or unjustly favouring created beings.

Manu states :—"Whatever an assembly of ten or three qualified *Brāhmaṇas*, faithful to their duties, shall lay down as the law, must be accepted as such. Such an assembly shall consist of atleast ten *Brāhmaṇas* consisting of three persons who each know one of the three principal *Vedas*, a *Naiyāyika*, a *Mīmāṁsika*, a Scholar of *Nirukta*, one who recites the institutes of the sacred law and three men

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1. चत्वारश्चतुर्णां पारगा वेदानां प्रागुत्तमाः त्रय आश्रमिणः
पृथग्धर्मविदस्त्रय एतान् दशावरान् परिषदित्याचक्षते ॥५०॥
असम्भवे त्वेतेषां श्रोत्रियो वेदविच्छिष्टो विप्रतिपत्तौ यदाह ॥५१॥
यतो यमप्रभवौ भूतानाम् ॥५२॥
हिंसानुग्रह योगेषु ॥५३॥
गौतम ध० सू० २८।५०-५३

चातुर्विद्यं विकल्पी च अङ्गविद्धर्मपाठकः ।
आश्रमस्थास्त्रयो मुख्याः परिषत्स्याद्दशावरा ॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ३।२३

चातुर्वैद्यं विकल्पी च अङ्गविद् धर्मपाठकः ।
आश्रमस्थास्त्रयो विप्राः पर्षदेषा दशावरा ॥ बौधायन ध० सू० १।१।८

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belonging to the first three *Āśramas*, one who knows the *Ṛgveda*, one who knows the *Yajurveda*, and one who knows the *Sāmaveda*, shall form an assembly consisting, atleast, of three members and competent to decide doubtful points of law.[1]

Seats of Learning in Ancient India

The seats of learning in ancient India were also the centres for the expression of political opinion and thought. These ancient schools of thought were not merely detached buildings of bricks and mortar, but colonies in which were centred the talent, the piety and the culture of the community, from which they gradually filtered down to the lower planes of society.

There were three types of educational institutions. In the first, the teacher as a householder admitted the young students. The second institution ministered to the needs of the advanced students, whose quest for truth and knowledge did not cease with the period of formal student life, but continued into the householder's state. Such students sought an expression for and development of their knowledge by mutual discussions or by the instruction of renowned specialists and literary celebrities in search of whom they wandered through the country. The highest stage of education was represented in what were called the *Brāhmaṇa Saṁgas*, where the more successful students

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1. त्रैविद्यो हैतुकस्तर्की नैरुक्तो धर्मपाठकः ।
त्रयश्चा श्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत्स्याद् दशावरा ॥१११॥
ऋग्वेदविद् यजुर्विच्च सामवेद विदेव च ।
त्र्यवरा परिषज्ज्ञेया धर्मसंशय निर्णये ॥११२॥
मनु० १२।१११-११२

चत्वारो वेद धर्मज्ञाः पर्षत् त्रैविद्यमेव वा ।
सा ब्रूते यं स धर्मः स्यादेको वाऽध्यात्मवित्तमः ॥
याज्ञ० १।९

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met for the advancement of knowledge by discussing their respective contributions. The third was the occasional summoning by a king of a gathering in which the representative thinkers of the country of various schools were invited to meet and exchange their views. The king offered a special prize to the person—"the best read", "the most learned in sacred writ", and the "wisest".

Nalanda

It is Patna where Nālandā University once flourished. This University was of a truely national character and attracted teachers from the different parts of the country. *Mr. Pannikar* mentions that *Dharmapāla*, the head abbot of *Nālandā* at the beginning of the Seventh Century was a Tamil noble man from Conjeevaram in the South, that *Jīva Mitra*, another renowned teacher was from Āndhra and that *Śīlabhadra*, the saintly teacher of *Yuan Chwang*, was a converted *Brāhmaṇa* from the Eastern area.

The University at the same time had an international position. "A *Śṛvijaya* monarch, from what is now the Republic of Indonesia, endowed one of the institutions of the University. Under a tooth brush tree in its grounds, the Korean monk *Huih Nieh*, whose Sanskritized name was *Āryavarman*, sat and copied sacred manuscripts. The great master of law *Yuan Chwang* travelled from distant Chang An to sit at the feet of his illustrious teachers of *Nālandā* University. From its sacred precincts scholars travelled far and wide, to Tibet, to Ceylon, to Java and the far-Eastern countries. From the neighbouring University of *Vikramaśīla* went forth monks and teachers who transformed the spiritual life of Tibet."

Taxila

(1500 B.C. to 180 B.C.)

We are told in the Rāmāyaṇa[1] that *Vyavahāra* (Law) was a specialised subject at Taxilā. The Mahābhārata refers

1. Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa 101.11.

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to *Takṣaśilā* as a noted seat of learning and declares the men of Taxilā[1] to be unrivalled in discussions on matters of learning. The great grammarian *Pāṇini* hailing from Śālātūr near Attock, and *Cāṇakya*, the minister of Candragupta Maurya are said to have had their education in Taxilā. *Pāṇini*[2] refers to *Takṣaśilā* as the surname of a person denoting that his ancestors had lived there. Here at the time of Alexander's invasion, the Greeks first came into contact with the Brāhmaṇa philosophers and were astonished at their asceticism and strange doctrines. In the days of Aśoka the Great, Taxilā was one of the greatest and most splendid cities of the East and enjoyed special reputation as the head-quarters of Hindu learning. It was undoubtedly the most important and ancient seat of learning in ancient India. It was the capital of the important province of Gāndhāra and its history goes back into hoary antiquity. It was founded by Bharata and named after his son Takṣa, who was established there as its ruler.[3] *Janmejayā's* serpent sacrifice was performed at this very place.[4] Not much is known of its early educational activities ; but by the 7th century B.C., it was a famous seat of learning, attracting scholars from distant cities like Rājagṛha, Banares and Mithilā. It was famous for its philosophers in the days of Alexander the Great. It, being a centre of education, had many famous teachers to whom hundreds of students flocked for higher education from far and wide.[5] Every teacher, assisted by his advanced students, formed an institution by himself. He admitted as many students as he liked. He taught what his students were anxious to learn. Students terminated their courses according to their individual convenience. There were no

1. Mahābhārata, Ādiparva III. 172.
2. Aṣṭādhyāyī IV. 3.93.
3. Rāmāyaṇa VII. 101. 10-16
4. Mahābhārata I. 3.20
5. Jātaka No. 252, 378, 489, 336.

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degree examinations, and no degrees or diplomas. Its fame was unrivalled in the 6th century B.C. In one of the archery schools at Taxilā, there were 103 princes on roll from different parts of India. The four Vedas, grammar, philosophy, and eighteen *sippas* were the principal subjects selected for specialisation at Taxilā. Among the latter were included medicine, surgery, archery and allied military arts, astronomy, astrology, divination, accountancy, commerce, agriculture, conveyancing, magic, snake-charming, the art of finding treasures, music, dancing and painting. Indian teachers were past masters in the art of explanation and exposition ; students from distant countries like Korea and China, Burma and Ceylon, Tibet and Nepal used to brave the dangers of the perilous journey to India to hear the exposition of obscure metaphysical passages which could be heard nowhere else on earth.

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HAPPY MARRIED LIFE
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CHAPTER I

POSITION OF WOMEN

(a) *General Status of Women in Society*

Hinduism has assigned a high place to women in the society. In the Vedas she is referred to as the queen and the mistress of the household, holding full sway over her husband's family.[1] She is supposed to be the sole authority inside the home, even to the exclusion of her husband's interference in domestic affairs. "I am the speaker here," says the wife, "not thou : speak thou in the Assembly." Further, the Vedic wife impresses on her husband the importance of conjugal fidelity. "Thou shalt be mine and mine alone, never talk of other women."[2] On the threshold of her career as a wife the Veda welcomes her as "Bliss-bringer" furthering thy household's welfare, beloved, gladdening thy husband and his father, enter this house and be gentle to thy husband's mother, sweet to thy husband and thy in-laws.[3] Manu held the women in high regard. According to him, if people want to be particularly blessed, the father and mother, the brothers, the husband and his brothers should "worship" the women and should provide them with suitable clothing and ornaments. Where women are worshipped, there the gods (all sorts of blessings) dwell. Where they are not worshipped, there all

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1. गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ।
   प्रति तिष्ठ विराडसि विष्णुरिवेह सरस्वती ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।२६
   सिनी वालि प्र जायतां भगस्य सुमतावसत् ॥ अथर्व० १४।२।१५

2. अहं वदामि नेत् त्वं सभायां महत्वं वद ।
   ममेदसस्त्वं केवलो नान्यासां कीर्तमाश्चन ॥ अथर्व० ७।३८।४

3. स्योनाभव श्वशुरेभ्यः स्योना पत्ये गृहेभ्यः ।
   स्योनास्यै सर्वस्यै विशे स्योना पुष्टायैषां भव ॥ अथर्व० १४।२।२७

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the activities and religious performances prove fruitless. Where the women of the family are not kept happy, the family is soon ruined. The family where they are kept happy, attains prosperity. Homes, cursed by women—who are not treated there with due respect—are totally destroyed. Women should, therefore, be always 'worshipped' and provided with good food, suitable clothing and ornaments. Happiness reigns supreme in homes where the husband and wife live in harmony with each other. If the wife is contented and happy, the whole home is happy. There is no happiness in the home, if she is discontented and unhappy.[1] Women are blessings as bearers of children, worthy of 'worship'—the lights and glory of the home. The wife is like Lakṣmi—the goddess of bliss in the house.[2] Children, religious duties, looking after everyone in the house, conjugal happiness, achievement of Heaven for herself and

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1. पितृभिर्भ्रातृभिश्चैताः पतिभिर्देवरैस्तथा ।
पूज्या भूषयितव्याश्च बहुकल्याणमीप्सुभिः ॥५५॥
यत्र नार्य्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।
यत्रैतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्राफलाः क्रियाः ॥५६॥
शोचन्ति जामयो यत्र विनश्यत्याशु तत्कुलम् ।
न शोचन्ति तु यत्रैता वर्द्धते तद्धि सर्वदा ॥५७॥
जामयो यानि गेहानि शपन्त्यप्रति-पूजिताः ।
तानि कृत्याहतानीव विनश्यन्ति समन्ततः ॥५८॥
तस्मादेताः सदा पूज्या भूषणाच्छादनाशनैः ।
भूतिकामैर्नरैर्नित्यं सत्कारेषूत्सवेषु च ॥५९॥
सन्तुष्टो भार्यया भर्ता भर्त्रा भार्या तथैव च ।
यस्मिन्नेव कुले नित्यं कल्याणं तत्र वै ध्रुवम् ॥६०॥
स्त्रियां तु रोचमानायां सर्वं तद्रोचते कुलम् ।
तस्यां त्वरोचमानायां सर्वमेव न रोचते ॥६२॥
मनु० ३।५५-६०, ६२

2. प्रजननार्थं महाभागाः पूजार्हा गृहदीप्तयः ।
स्त्रियः श्रियश्च गेहेषु न विशेषोऽस्ति कश्चन ॥ मनु० ९।२६

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her people—all depend upon the wife.[1] A spiritual teacher deserves ten times more respect than a school-master, one's father a hundred times more than the spiritual teacher and one's mother a thousand times more than the father.[2] A warning is administered to the husbands also by Manu as he says that wives imbide the good and bad habits of their husbands just as even sweet-water streams become brackish as soon as they fall into the sea.[3] *Ṛgvedic Hymns* given below give an interesting depiction of position of women.[4] She is *Indrāṇī* (wife of Indra). I hear her playing in riches and prosperous amongst ladies.[5] These ladies, living with their husbands, decorating their persons with scents and perfumes, may enter their homes with honour. May they never weep, be healthy and always without diseases; wear beautiful ornaments and other valuable diamonds; and may they give birth to heroic sons.[6] She is clever in the household affairs.[7]

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1. अपत्यं धर्मकार्याणि शुश्रूषा रतिरुत्तमा।
दाराधीनस्तथा स्वर्गः पितॄणामात्मनश्च ह॥ मनु० ९।२८

2. उपाध्यायान् दशाचार्य आचार्याणां शतं पिता।
सहस्रं तु पितॄन्माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते॥ मनु० २।१४५

3. यादृग्गुणेन भर्त्रा स्त्री संयुज्येत यथाविधि।
तादृग्गुणा सा भवति समुद्रेणेव निम्नगा॥ मनु० ९।२२

4. या दम्पती समनसा सुनुत आ च धावतः।
देवासो नित्ययाशिरा॥ ऋ० ८।३१।५
प्रति प्राशृण्याँ इतः सम्यञ्चा बर्हिराशाते।
न ता वाजेषु वावृतः॥ ऋ० ८।३१।६

5. इन्द्राणीमासु नारीषु सुभगामहम् श्रवम्। ऋ० १०।८६।११

6. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु।
अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे॥
ऋ० १०।१८।७

7. सुदक्षा। ऋ० ३।५८।७

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Ladies wear beautiful and charming garments to please their husbands.[1] In the Ṛgveda she says, "I select a hero as my husband."[2] That Lady is called "*Parśuḥ*" who gives birth to twenty children. She is ever prosperous. Her person is wonderful and her husband—Indra is better than others.[3]

A respectable lady was praised and called with a charming name, who gives one, happiness like a full moon-lit night. The husband further impresess—"She should hear my words and realize me herself. Like an unbreakable needle she should strengthen the ties of love with me with her good behaviour and daily actions. She should give birth to a worthy, wealthy, and heroic son."[4] Let no brother be unfriendly to his brother and no sister may feel jealous of her sister.[5] Who gives spiritual peace, sexual pleasure and children to a man?[6] Let wife speak sweet words to her husband, giving mental peace to him.[7] Division is never seen of a property of wife and husband.[8] Due to marriage, both, together, are required to perform sacrifices.[9] Simi-

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1. सुवासाः । ऋ० १०।७१।४
2. वीरिणी । ऋ० १०।८६।६
3. पर्शुर्ह नाम मानवी साकं ससूव विंशतिम् भद्रं भलत्यस्या ।
अभूद्यस्या उदरमामयद् विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥
अथर्व० १०।८६।२३
4. राकामहं सुहवां सुष्टती हवे शृणोतु नः सुभगा बोधतुत्मना ।
सीव्यत्वपः सूच्यार्च्छिद्यमानया ददातुवीरं शत दायुमुक्थ्यम् ॥
ऋ० २।३२।४
5. मा भ्राता भ्रातरं द्विक्षन्मा स्वसारमुत स्वसा । अथर्व ३।३०।३
6. केनानन्दं रतिं प्रजातिम् । कौषीतकी उप० १।७
7. जाया पत्ये मधुमतीं वाचं वदतु शान्तिवाम् । अथर्व० ३।३०।२
8. जायापत्योर्न विभागो दृश्यते ॥१६॥
9. पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु ॥१७॥

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larly in the case of virtuous deeds,[1] and in the acquisition of worldly things.[2] Husband is a deity to a wife. Husband is her real relative. Husband is her Guru. To her, husband is dearer than her own life. Therefore, he is to be obeyed primarily.[3]

Husband, ascending heaven, addresses his wife and says, "O bride ! Let us go to heaven." She says, "All right, let us go to heaven." Husband invites his wife, because wife is the better half of man.[4] Wife is a friend.[5] A man is constituted of his own person, his wife and his issues. Learned persons say that husband and wife are one and the same thing.[6] Husband is a god to her. Husband is her Guru. Husband is a pilgrimage to her. Her Dharma and all her virtuous vows are her husband. Therefore, she, leaving aside everything, should worship her husband.[7]

That lady is called a wife, who has control over her passions, who can bear children, who is faithful to her

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1. तथा पुण्यफलेषु ॥१८॥
2. द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च ॥१९॥ आप० ध० सू० २।६।१४।१६-१९
3. पतिर्हि देवता नार्याः पतिर्बन्धुः पतिर्गुरुः ॥
   प्राणैरपि प्रियं तस्माद् भर्तुः कार्यं विशेषतः ॥ बाल्मी० ७।४८।१७
4. स रोक्ष्यज्जायामामन्त्रयते, जाये एहि स्वो रोहावेति । रोहावेत्याह जाया । तस्माज्जायामामन्त्रयते । अर्धो ह्वैष आत्मनो यज्जाया ।
   शतपथ ब्रा० ५।२।१।१०
5. सखा ह जाया । एतरेय ब्रा० ८।३।१३
6. एतावानेव पुरुषो यज्जायाऽऽत्मा प्रजेति वा ।
   विप्राः प्राहुस्तथा चैतद्यो भर्ता सा स्मृताङ्गना ॥ मनु० ९।४५
7. भर्ता देवो गुरुर्भर्ता धर्म-तीर्थ-व्रतानि च ।
   तस्मात्सर्वं परित्यज्य पतिमेकं समर्चयेत् ॥
   स्कन्द पु० काशी खं० ४।४८

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husband, whose life is her husband. She is a pious lady.[1] A son may be unfaithful but a mother will never be unfaithful.[2] A lady who is called Jāyā, is half of man.[3] A man is incomplete till he gets a wife.[4] God has made two things on earth, "a man and a wife".[5] A *vīṇā* (lute) does never exist without *strings*. A chariot is never without wheels. A wife without a husband never attains happiness, may she have a hundred children.[6] Father gives a limited quantity, similarly does a son and a brother. Why wife would not worship her husband who gives her unlimited quantity ?[7] Honour your mother.[8] Mother and mother-land, both are better than heaven.[9]

In ancient India, the Society regarded woman as the *Sahadharmiṇī*.[10] The Hindu believes in the speciality of

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1. या नारी प्रयता दक्षा या नारी पुत्रिणी भवेत् ।
   पतिव्रता पतिप्राणा सा नारी धर्मभागिनी ।।
   विष्णु धर्मोत्तर ३।३२२।११
2. कुपुत्रो जायेत क्वचिदपि कुमाता न भवति ।।
3. अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्जायेति ।।
   शतपथ ब्रा० ५।२।३।१०
4. यावन्न विन्दते जायां तावदर्धो भवेत् पुमान् । व्यास संहिता २।१४
5. स आत्मानं द्वेधा पातयत् । पतिश्च पत्नी चाभवताम् । बृहद्० उप० ४।३
6. नातन्त्री विद्यते वीणा नाचक्रो विद्यते रथः ।
   नापतिः सुखमेधते या स्यादपि शतात्मजा ।।
   रामायण अयोध्या का० ३९।२९
7. मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः ।
   अमितस्य तु दातारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् ।।
   रामायण अयोध्या का० ३९।३०
8. मातृदेवो भव । तैत्तिरीय० १।११
9. जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ।
10. Sāyaṇa, commenting on Ṛgveda (v. 61.8) says :—"The wife and the husband, being the equal halves of one substance, are equal in every respect, both should join and take equal part in all work, religious and secular."

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the contribution which woman makes to the world. She has special responsibilities and special duties. As the bearing and rearing of children take a good deal of their time and attention, women were relieved of the economic responsibilities for the family. While man is expected to take to the worldly pursuits (yajña prādhānya), woman is capable of great heights of self-control and self-denial (tapaḥ prādhānya). The stricter code of morality applied to women is really a compliment to them, for it recognises the natural superiority of the women.[1]

The codification of marriage laws, was first made in Sanskrit treatises. It is clear from the study of these texts that the grown up young men and girls could choose their partners and marry with the consent of their parents. There was healthy freedom for the women. Girls were educated like the boys. They had the rights of sharing with their husbands all religious and social functions. Ghoṣā, Aputā, Lopāmudrā, Viśvavārā and others are credited with the composition of Vedic hymns. Gārgī and Maitreyī took part in philosophical discussions publicly with their learned husband Yajnā-valkya. The family life was well-organized. The obligations and privileges of husband and wife were of high order. The sacraments were predominently the parental duties towards the children until the latter were married and settled in life to carry out the domestic duties, upon which the stability and progress of the whole society depended.

The personality, after marriage, was developed by the fusion of husband and wife. The sex division was accepted as natural and normal. Lawful sex-relation was not considered degrading in the Indian society. As a result of this,

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1. सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव, सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव।
ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव, सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४६
वीरसूः देवृकामा स्योना शं नो भव ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४४

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the sex-instinct was not repressed but controlled, restrained and sublimated in the discipline of the *āśramas*. The sex-act was invested with the dignity of a religious rite and sanctified as a sacrament, with the definite aim—for the birth of a child. Marriage meant the life-long companionship of husband and wife, and their daily co-operation, in weal and woe, in the performance of enjoined duties. Women were regarded as created for raising progeny not as mere sources of transient joy.[1] Every care was to be taken, where a marriage was arranged by parents, to select a suitable partner for the girl. Manu declares that a girl should remain unmarried all her life, rather than be bestowed on an unworthy suitor.[2] A girl's life should not be ruined by parental sloth or negligence.[3] *Baudhāyana* states that a lady deserves protection, first, amongst all people, even, by money.[4] According to *Pāṇini*,[5] the *savarṇa* wife, by sharing in her husband's religious rites and their rewards, acquires the name of "*patni*". But in the period of *Manu*[6] she has no competence to perform the sacrifice independently.

According to *Gautama* a wife is not independent with respect to the fulfilment of the sacred law. She should not

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1. प्रजननार्थं स्त्रियः सृष्टाः सन्तानार्थं च मानवाः । मनु० ९।९६
2. काममामरणात्तिष्ठेद् गृहे कन्या ऋतुमत्यपि ।
   न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥ मनु० ९।८९
3. उत्कृष्टायानुरूपाय वराय सदृशाय च ।
   अप्राप्तामपि तां तस्मै कन्यां दद्याद् यथाविधि ॥ मनु० ९।८८
4. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां दारा रक्ष्यतमा धनात् ॥ बौ० ध० सू० २।२।६१
5. पत्युर्नो यज्ञ संयोगे । पा० ४।१।३३
6. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथक् यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषितम् ।
   पतिं शुश्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ मनु० ५।१५५

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violate her duty towards her husband. She should restrain her tongue, eyes and organs of action.[1]

Vasiṣṭha states that a lady is not independent, but depends upon her husband. She is to perform sacrifices with her husband. Her father protects her in her maidenhood, her husband in her youth, and her sons in her old age. She does not deserve independence.[2]

Baudhāyana states that she is protected by her father in her girlhood, by her husband in her youth, by her sons in her old age. She does not deserve any independent living. She should always look to the comforts of her husband. Thus she would attain heaven.[3]

Yajñavalkya states that the moon has conferred on them (women) purity; the Gandharvas, sweet speech; and fire, the most exalted state of holiness; therefore, women are most holy.[4] She should always be adorned by the husband, brother, father, kinsmen, mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband's younger brother and the other relatives with ornaments, clothes and food. They should keep the household articles in order, be expert in domestic works, contented, economical in expenditure, salute the

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1. अस्वतन्त्रा धर्मे स्त्री ॥१॥ नातिचरेद् भर्तारम् ॥२॥ वाक्-चक्षुः-कर्म-संयता ॥३॥ गौतम ध० सू० १८।१-३

2. अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्रीपुरुषप्रधाना ॥१॥ अनग्निकाऽनुदक्या वा अनृतमिति विज्ञायते ॥२॥ पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
पुत्रश्च स्थविरे भावे न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥४॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ५।१-२,४

3. न स्त्री-स्वातन्त्र्यं विद्यते ॥५०॥
पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
पुत्रस्तु स्थविरे भावे न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हतीति ॥५२॥
भर्तृहिते यतमानाः स्वर्गं लोकं जयेरन् ॥५४॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।३।५०, ५२, ५४

4. सोमः शौचं ददौ तासां गन्धर्वाश्च शुभां गिरम् ।
पावकः सर्वभक्ष्यत्वं मेध्या वै योषितो ह्यतः ॥ याज्ञ० १।७१

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feet of their mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law and be devoted to their husbands. It is further stated that a woman whose husband is absent from home, should renounce sports, personal decorations, the witnessing of social festivities, laughing and visiting other people's houses. A father should protect a woman when she is a maiden ; a husband should protect her when married ; and a son should protect her in her old age ; in the absence of a legitimate protector, the kinsmen should protect her ; independence is not for womankind. A woman having no husband, should be taken care of by the father, mother, son, brother, mother-in-law, father-in-law or maternal uncle ; otherwise she will be an object of censure. The woman who is devoted to the well-being of her husband, is observant of good conduct and has her senses under restraint, reaps glory in this world and incomparable bliss in the next.[1]

Manu also states that ladies are not to be set free by the men, day and night. They, adorning their persons, are to be kept in their obedience and possession. Father protects her in her girlhood, husband in youth, sons in old age. She never is to be left independent.

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1. भर्तृभ्रातृपितृज्ञातिश्वश्रूश्वशुर - देवरैः ।
बन्धुभिश्च स्त्रियः पूज्या भूषणाच्छादनाशनैः ॥८२॥
संयतोपस्करा दक्षा हृष्टा व्ययपराङ्मुखी ।
कुर्याच्छ्वशुरयोः पादवन्दनं भर्तृतत्परा ॥८३॥
क्रीडां शरीर संस्कारं समाजोत्सव दर्शनम् ।
हास्यं परगृहे यानं त्यजेत् प्रोषित भर्तृका ॥८४॥
रक्षेत् कन्यां पिता विन्नां पतिः पुत्रास्तु वार्द्धके ।
अभावे ज्ञातयस्तेषां स्वातन्त्र्यं न क्वचित् स्त्रियः ॥८५॥
पितृमातृसुत - भ्रातृश्वश्रूश्वशुरमातुलैः ।
हीना न स्याद्विना भर्त्रा गर्हणीयान्यथा भवेत् ॥८६॥
पतिप्रियहिते युक्ता स्वाचारा संयतेन्द्रिया ।
इह कीर्तिमवाप्नोति प्रेत्य चानुपमं सुखम् ॥८७॥

याज्ञ० १।८२-८७

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The other texts also observe that the husband may he be of a bad character, or too much addicted to sexual pleasures, or he be without money, alone, is a great deity to women of high families.[1] Husband is equal to all the holy places. Husband is the embodiment of all virtues. Wife, serving her husband, gets that fruit which is got after performing great sacrifices.[2]

Manu says that a wife should carry out her household duties cheerfully and skilfully keeping everything neat and clean and should avoid extravagance in household expenses.[3] He has also suggested that when very young she should consult her parents, when married, her husband and when widowed, her sons, in all important household affairs.[4] As long as they live, the husband and wife should act in unison in all religious, economic and domestic affairs. This is the essential duty of a married couple.[5] Like a deity, wife should worship and please her husband.[6] A wife should follow the injunctions of her husband, who is a sacred

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1. दुःशीलः कामवृत्तो वा धनैर्वा परिवर्जितः ।
स्त्रीणामार्य-स्वभावानां परमं दैवतं पतिः ॥
बालरामा० अयो० ११७।२४

2. सर्व-तीर्थ-समो भर्ता सर्व-धर्ममयः पतिः ।
मखानां यजनात् पुण्यं यद् वै भवति दीक्षिते ।
तत्पुण्यं समाप्नोति भर्तुश्चैव हि साम्प्रतम् ॥
पद्म० भीम० ४१।१३-१५

3. सदा प्रहृष्टया भाव्यं गृहकार्येषु दक्षया ।
सुसंस्कृतोपस्करया व्यये चामुक्तहस्तया ॥ मनु० ५।१५०॥

4. बाल्ये पितुर्वशे तिष्ठेत् पाणिग्राहस्य यौवने ।
पुत्राणां भर्तरि प्रेते न भजेत् स्त्री स्वतन्त्रताम् ॥ मनु० ५।१४८

5. अन्योन्यस्याव्यभिचारो भवेदामरणान्तिकः ।
एष धर्मः समासेन ज्ञेयः स्त्रीपुंसयोः परः ॥ मनु० ९।१०१

6. देववत् पतिमानुकूल्येन वर्तेत । मुनिः वात्स्यायनः

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object for a wife.[1] A woman who possesses modesty, clothings, ornaments, good character, desire for religious deeds, daily husband's service is really praiseworthy and she is a purifying object on earth.[2] Daily sitting in the door, peeping through windows, useless talks, fruitless laughing are the vices of good ladies.[3]

In the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* (10.95), we find the story of the King *Pururavā* and *Urvaśī*. There are maxims of *Urvaśī* in 9 verses ; *Godhā* is the *Ṛṣikā* of 10.134.7 ; *Mamatā* is of 6.10.2 ; *Śaśvati*, the daughter of *Angirā* and wife of *Asaṅga*, *Lomaśā* is of 1.126.7 ; *Yamī*, the daughter of *Vivasvān*, is of 10.154 ; *Vāk*, the daughter of *Āmbhṛṇa*, is of 10.125 ; *Juhū* is of 10.109 ; *Viśvavārā* of 5.28 ; *Sārparājñī* of 10.189 ; *Apālā* the daughter of *Atrī* of 8.80 ; *Lopāmudrā* of 1.179.1-2 ; *Sūryā* of 10.85 ; *Indramātā* of 10.153 ; *Indrāṇī* of *some* of the verses of 10.145 and 10.86 ; *Śacī*, the daughter of *Puloma*, of 10.159 ; *Śraddhā* of *Kāmagotra* is the *Ṛṣikā* of 10.151 ; and *Ghoṣā* of 10.39-40. She was the daughter of *Kakṣīvān* seer. It is said that she suffered from *T. B.* and lived in her father's house unmarried till old age. Her disease was cured by the well-known doctor *Aśvidvaya* (1.117.7). He made her young and got her married with his son *Suhasta* (10.39.3). The *Bṛhad-devatā* calls these *Ṛgvedic* women *Ṛṣīs* as *Brahmavādinīs*, who did not marry. They were eligible for *Upanayana*, *Agnayādhāna*, study of *Vedas* and practice of begging within the household. There was another class of women who were called *Sadyo-vadhus*. They had only to perform *Upanayana* in some form before marriage. Then

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1. भार्या पत्युर्व्रतं कुर्याद् भार्यायाश्च पतिर्व्रतम । निर्णयामृत ग्रन्थे
2. लज्जावासो भूषणं शुद्धशीलं पादक्षेपो धर्ममार्गे च यस्याः ।
   नित्यं पत्युः सेवनं मिष्टवाणी धन्या सास्त्री पूतयत्येव पृथ्वीम् ॥
3. द्वारोपवेशनं नित्यं गवाक्षेण निरीक्षणम् ।
   असत्प्रलापो हास्यं च दूषणं कुलयोषिताम् ॥ (व्यास संहिता)

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we find that in times of yore, girls were eligible for (1) *Maunji-bandhana* (*i.e. Upanayana*), (2) Study of Veda and (3) *Sāvitri-vacana*.[1]

It will not be out of place to mention here some important learned females of ancient Sanskrit Literature in addition to the poetesses of the *Vedic* hymns. *Vedavati*, a daughter of sage *Kuśadhvaja* of the *Rāmāyaṇa age*, did not marry at all.[2] *Kāśakrtsnin* composed a work on *Mimānsā* called *Kāśakrtni* after her name ; and lady students who used to specialise in it, were known as *Kāśakrtsnā*.[3] In the *Upaniṣadic* age *Yajñavalkya's* wife *Maitreyī* was more interested in studying deeper problems of philosophy than in wearing costly jewels and apparels.[4] Similarly *Gārgi* was a dialectician and philosopher of a high order.[5] *Ātreyī* of the *Uttara-Rāmacarit* was studying *Vedānta* under *Vālmīki* and *Agastya*.[6] *Vaḍavā Prāthiteyī* were other scholars of that time.[7] According to *Ṛgveda* an unmarried young learned daughter was to be married to a learned bride-

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1. पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौंजी बन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्री वाचनं तथा ।।

2. Rāmāyaṇa 7/17

3. एवमपिकाशकृत्सिना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी ।
काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी ।।
मीमांसा ४।१।१४ : ३, १५५

4. तथा च। सा हो वाच मैत्रेयी ।
येनाहं नामृता स्याम्, किं तेनाहं कुर्यामिति ।। बृह० उप० २।४; ४।५

5. अनतिपृशन्यां वै देवतामपि पृच्छसि । बृह० उप० ३।६।१

6. तेभ्योऽधिगन्तुं निगमान्त शिक्षां वाल्मीकिपार्श्वादिह संचरामि ।
उत्तररामचरित II

7. आश्व० गृ० सू० ३।४।४, शाखा० गृ० सू० ४।१०।३

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groom. Never think of giving in marriage a daughter of very young age.[1]

According to *Atharva Veda*, a young daughter who has observed *brahmacarya* should be married to a young bridegroom.[2] The wife of the sacrificer should recite in a sacrifice this mantra.[3] In *Lātāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[4] we are told that even the maid servants should utter "*idam madhu* etc.". In the *Mahābhārata*[5] we read of *Śibā*, a Brāhmaṇa lady and Sulabhā who were well-versed in the Vedas. *Śabrī* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, lived unmarried life and was a good scholar and a well-read lady. A Brāhmaṇa lady *Lilāvati* was the author of the celebrated Algebra which found its way to Europe.

Education was imparted to all who were to take part in sacrifices irrespective of sex. Women were perfectly eligible for the privilege of studying the Vedic literature and performing sacrifices, down to about 200 B.C. Males could perform the Vedic sacrifices only if they had their wives by their sides. Both had to undergo a special initia-

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1. आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः,
सबर्दुघाः शशया अप्रदुग्धाः ।
नव्या नव्या युवतयो भवन्तीर्, ।
महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ॥ ऋ० ३।५।५५।१६

2. ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् । अथर्व० ११।५।१८

3. आश्वलायन श्रौत० सू० १।११; गोभिल गृ० सू० १।३; २।३; १।६; आपस्तम्ब श्रौत० सू० १२।५; पूर्वमीमांसा ६।१।२४; पारस्कर गृ० ६।२।१
Gobhila Gr. Sūtra (1.3) states that the wife should be educated to be able to take part in sacrifices—
नहि खलु अनधीत्य शक्नोति पत्नी होतुमिति ॥

4. लाटायन श्रौत० सू० १८।४।३; ४।६

5. महाभारत वनपर्व ।

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tion[1] on the occasion and take equally active part in its procedure.[2]

Down to the end of the Mauryan period, the housewife was expected to offer oblations in the house-hold (*gṛhya*) fire unaided by the husband, normally in the evening and sometimes in the morning also.[3] In the *srastarārohana* ritual of the *Agrahāyaṇa* ceremony, the wife used to recite a number of *Vedic* hymns,[4] and the harvest sacrifices could be performed by women alone, because such was the long standing custom.[5] From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that *Kauśalyā* was by herself alone performing a sacrifice on the morning of her son's proposed installation as an heir-apparent,[6] the same was the case with Tārā when her husband *Bālī* was about to leave palace to meet *Sugrīva* in the fateful encounter.[7] *Vālmīki* described both these ladies as *Mantravid*. We find *Sītā* offering her prayer during the days of her captivity in *Lankā*.[8] *Kunti*, the

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1. तैत्ति० ब्रा० ३।३।२।३७; ३।८।३
2. या दम्पती समनसा सुनुत आ च धावतः ।
   देवासो नित्यया शिरा ॥ ऋ० ८।३१।५
3. Go. Gr. S. 1.3. The term *patni* denotes the special connection of the wife with her husband's sacrifices ; c.f. पत्युर्यो यज्ञ संयोगे । पाणिनि IV १।३३
4. P.G.S. III 2. See the commentary of Harihara also. P.G.S. 11.20.
5. स्त्रियश्चोपयजेरन्नाचरितत्त्वात् ।
6. सा क्षौमवसना हृष्टा नित्यं व्रतपरायणा ।
   अग्निं जुहोति स्म तत्र मन्त्रवित् कृतमंगला ॥ रामायण० II २०।१५
7. ततः स्वस्त्ययनं कृत्वा मन्त्रविद् विजयैषिणी ॥ रामायण० IV १६।१२
8. सन्ध्या कालमनाः श्यामा ध्रुवमेष्यति जानकी ।
   नदीं चेमां शुभजलां सन्ध्यार्थं वरवर्णिनी ॥ रामायण० V १५।४८

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mother of the *Pāṅdavas*, was well-versed in the Mantras of the *Atharva Veda.*

Mādhavācārya (in his *Nyāya-Mālā Vistara*, p. 335) says, "Brāhmaṇa boys of eight years are to be initiated and taught and the same right also belongs to girls." We may, also cite the statement of Hemādri that unmarried girls should be taught Vidyā and Dharmanīti. An educated Kumārī brings good to the families of both her father and husband. So she should be married to a learned husband (manīṣī), as she is a viduṣī."

Upādhyāyā and Upādhyāyānī.

The two words *Upādhyāyā*[1] and *Upādhyāyānī* occuring in the *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* of *Pātanjali* in 2nd century B.C. show that there were ladies who used to teach the girls. The word *Upādhyāyānī* was simply used for the wife of a teacher, irrespective of her education, while the word *Upādhyāyā* was meant for a lady teacher. It indicates that probably there was a sufficient number of lady teachers in the society, consequently, the necessity was felt to coin a new word. It further indicates that there was no Purdah system in ancient Hindu Society. *Pāṇini* refers the boarding houses for lady students *Chātrīśālās*[2] and these were probably under the superintendence of *Upādhyāyās* or lady-teachers. We, also, come accross in the *Brihadāraṇyakopaniṣad* that some parents were anxious for the birth of scholarly daughters.[3] They wished their daughters might become cultured, learned and well-accomplished ladies.

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1. उपेत्याधीयते अस्याः सा उपाध्याया । पातंजलिः III ८२२

2. छात्रादयः शालायाम् ॥ पाणिनि VI २।८६

3. अथ य इच्छेद् दुहिता मे पंडिता जायेत, सर्वमायुरियादिति तिलौदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयाताम् ॥ बृह० उप० ६।४।१७

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Mādhavācārya[1] states that Brāhmaṇa boys of eight years are to be initiated and taught and the same right also belongs to girls. In order to lead a happy life, according to Manu, the ladies are to be respected always with ornaments, clothes and food materials.[2] He states in clear words that wherever ladies are respected, there, in that house, the deities play day and night and where they are neglected, all their efforts go in vain.[3] *Ṛgveda* gives her an excellent position in the society and calls her a *Samrājñī*.[4] She is selected as wife for friendship.[5] At another place, *Ṛgveda* attaches more importance to a lady than to a gent as regards the affairs of the household life.[6] Fortunate is the man who has a mother* well-read, cultured and polished.[7] The wife and the husband are to love each other like a pair of *Chakravāka* birds.[8] They are not to leave or live away from each other.[9] The wife is to strengthen the hands of the husband and make him powerful and resourceful in life.[10]

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1. Mādhavācārya's Nyāya-mālā Vistara p. 335.
2. सदा पूज्याः भूषणाच्छादनाशनैः ॥ मनु० ३।५९, याज्ञ० १।८२
3. यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।
   यत्रैतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्राफलाः क्रियाः ॥ मनु० ३।५६
4. सम्राज्ञीश्वशुरे भव, सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव ।
   ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४६
5. आ वां पतित्वं सख्याय जग्मुषी योषा वृणीत ॥ ऋ० १।११९।५
6. (i) एवेद्धूर्वृष्ण उत्तरा । ऋ० ८।३३। १८
   (ii) पितुर्दशशतं माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते ॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १३।१७
   *Mother is thousand times more respectable than father.
7. मातृमान् पुरुषो वेद । शतपथ ब्रा०
8. सं नुद चक्रवाकेव दम्पती । अथर्व० १४।२।६४
9. मा वियौष्टम् ॥ अथर्व० १०।८५।४२
10. ममेयमस्तु पोष्या । अथर्व० १४।१।५२

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(b) *Different names of women according to their status—*

Pāṇini refers to woman in all the aspects of her life, as a girl, a maiden, a wife, a mother, a friend and a teacher. We obtain glimpses of her life inside the household as its virtual mistress in her capacity of *patni*, and in the larger public sphere of education (*caraṇas*), and citizenship (*janapadas* Pāṇ. 4.1.175).[1] As examples may be cited (1) *Kaṭhī*, a female member of the Vedic *Kaṭha Śākhā*, and (2) *Yaudheyā*, a female citizen of the *Yaudheya* republic (*Saṅgha*). The woman also figures as an ascetic as indicated in the title *Kumāra-Śramaṇā* (Pāṇ. II. 1.69)[2], *i.e.* an unmarried female mendicant, showing that women were also eligible for the ascetic order.

Maiden

In the first part of her life (*vayasi prathame* Pāṇ. IV. 1.20)[3], she was called *kumārī*, *kiśorī* and *kanyā*. Some women remained unmarried throughout life (*kumāryām vayasi*, Pāṇ. 6.2.95)[4] and were still called *kumārī* even in old age, *e.g.*, *vṛddha-kumārī*, *jarat-kumārī*. There were exceptional cases of unmarried girls becoming mothers whence their off-spring was called *kānīna* (Pāṇ. IV. 1.116)[5], issue of a *kanyā* not formally married. *Manu* counts *kānīna* as one of the twelve kinds of sons (Manu IX. 172 ; cf. yaj. II. 132).[6] A maiden of marriageable age was known as varyā, *i.e.*, one

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1. अतश्च । पा० ४।१।१७५
2. कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । पा० २।१।६९
3. वयसि प्रथमे । पा० ४।१।२०
4. कुमार्यां वयसि । पा० ६।२।९५
5. कन्यायाः कनीन च । पा० ४।१।११६
6. पितृवेश्मनि कन्या तु यं पुत्रं जनयेद्रहः ।
   तं कानीनं वदेन्नाम्ना वोढुः कन्या समुद्भवम् ॥ मनु० ९।१७२
   गृहे प्रच्छन्न उत्पन्नो गूढजस्तु सुतो मतः ।
   कानीन कन्यका जातो मातामह सुतो मतः ॥ याज्ञ० २।१३२

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to be wooed freely without restriction (*anirodha*, Pāṇ. III. 1.101)[1]. When she became engaged, she was called *vṛtyā*.

(1) *Strī*[2] (2) *Nārī*[3]
(3) *Yoṣā*[4] (4) *Sundarī*[5]
(5) *Pramadā*[6] (6) *Lalanā*[7]
(7) *Mānini*[8] (8) *Mahilā*[9]

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1. अवद्य·····अनिरोधेषु । पा० ३।१।१०१

2. *स्त्री*—स्त्यै शब्दसंघातयोः धातोः (स्त्यै+डट्+ङीप्=स्त्री)। "स्त्रियः स्त्यायतेः अपत्रपणकर्मणः"। निरुक्त ३।२१।२ ; लज्जार्थस्य लजन्तेऽपि हि ताः—इति दुर्गाचार्यः। स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः। पा० ४।१।३; अधिकरणसाधना लोके स्तयति अस्याँ गर्भ इति स्त्री—महाभाष्ये; स्त्रियः एव एताः शब्दस्पर्श रूप रस गन्ध हारिण्यः।
निरुक्ते १४।२०(ऋ० १।१६।१६)

3. *नारी* शब्द ऋग्वेदे नास्ति। नार्यः शब्दः यज्ञार्थे प्रयुक्तोऽस्ति। तैत्तिरीय आरण्यके ६।१।३; शतपथ ब्रा० ३।५।४।४; नृ नरो वा=नृ+अञ्+ङीन्=नारी; नर+ङीष्=नारी। नुर्धर्म्या नारी, नरस्यापि नारी। महाभाष्ये ४।४।६; नराः मनुष्याः नृत्यन्ति कर्मसु। निरुक्त ५।१।३; "नृणां महावीरार्थिनां उपकारित्वात् नारिः। न अरिः नारिः।
सायण तै० आ० ४।२।१

4. *योषा*—यु धातोः। योषा यौतेः मिश्रणार्थस्य, स हि मिश्रयति आत्मानं पुरुषेण साकम्। निरुक्ते ३।१५।१; योषणा योषित् वा योषा वत्। "योषा जारस्य चक्षुषा विभाति"। ऋ० १।६८।११; "न वै योषा कंचन हिनस्ति।"
शत० ब्रा० ३।६।१।४

5. *सुन्दरी*—सु+उन्द+अर्+ङीष्। सुष्ठु नन्दयति इति नैरुक्ताः। क्षीर स्वामी—अमर० ३।१।५२; सुन्दरी=सूनरी (ऋग्वेदस्य) आद्या योषव सूनर्युषा याति प्रभुञ्जती।
ऋ० १।४८।५

6. *प्रमदा*—प्रमद संमर्दो हर्षे च।

7. *ललना*—लल् धातोः इच्छायाम्।

8. *मानिनी*—मान-प्रिया। स्वाभिमानिनी।

9. *महिला*—मह्+इलच्+आ। मह पूजायाम्। पूज्या।

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(9) *Jāyā*[10] (10) *Duhitā*[11]
(11) *Abalā*[12] (12) *Vāmā*[13]
(13) *Menā*[14] (14) *Gnāh*[15]
(15) *Mātā*[16]

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10. *जाया*—पत्नीरूपा। तज्जाया जाया भवति यदस्यां जायते पुनः। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मणे। पुरुषः पुत्ररूपेण स्वयं जायते। कल्याणी जाया। सुरणं गृहे ते। ऋ० ३।५३।६ जायेदस्तं मघवन् सेदु योनिः। ऋ० ३।५३।४; जायैव गृहं, तत्रैव पुरुषः विश्रामं गृह्णाति।

11. *दुहिता*—In Anglo-Saxion dohtor ; in English daughter ; in German tochter ; in Greek thejather ; in Avesta dudheter.

दुहिता दुर्हिता, दूरे हिता—निरुक्त ३।४।४; दूरे हिता दुहिता। दूरे सति सा पितुः हिता पथ्यं भवति दुहिता इति उच्यते। दुह—दोग्धेर्वा। सा हि नित्यमेव पितुः सकाशाद् द्रव्यं दोग्धि, [प्राथनापरत्वात्। प्राचीन काले पितु गृहे गवां दोग्ध्री] दुहिता आसीत्। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मणे कथितमस्ति—यत् कृपणं हि दुहिता। ज्योति हि पुत्रः। यदि पुनाति प्रीणातीति वा पुत्रः दुहितर्यप्येतद् भवति।

अष्टा० १।२।६२ (महाभाष्ये)

12. *अबला*—बलरहिता। परञ्च स्त्रिया अशास्यं मनः। ऋ० ८।३३।१७

13. *वामा*—वयति सौन्दर्यम्।
वामं विरुद्धरूपं तु विपरीतं तु गीयते।
वामेन सुखदा देवी वामा तेन मता बुधैः॥ देवी पुराण अ० ४६
या पुनः पूज्यमाना तु देवादीनां तु पूर्वतः।
यज्ञभागं स्वयं धत्ते सा वामा तु प्रकीर्तिता॥ कलिका पुराण अ० ७७

14. *मेना*—नारी। मानयन्ति एनाः (पुरुषाः)। निरुक्त ३।२१।२ तदा च मेना=माना—मान्या।

15. *गनाः*—ऋग्वेदे स्त्रीबोधकः शब्दः। देव पत्न्यः। ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु सामान्य-महिलार्थे। गना गच्छन्ति एनाः (पुरुषाः)। निरुक्त ३।२१।२। गना=गमा=गम्या=गम् धातोः। अवस्थायां घेना—गेना—महिलार्थे। जर्मन भाषायां गुने (Gune), in Greek Gāmās=marriage.

16. *माता*—"मा माने", "मानपूजायाम्" वा धातोः "नप्तृ नेष्टृ" इत्यादि उणादि सूत्रानुसारेण 'तृच्' प्रत्ययोगात् 'मातृ' शब्दो निष्पन्नो भवति। माति गर्भोऽस्यामिति माता। मान्यते पूज्यते जनैरिति वा माता।

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(16) *Janani*[17] (17) *Ramaṇi*[18].

In the *Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana* (edited by Goswami Damodar Śāstri, 1929, Benares, p. 29), it is desired that the ladies were expected to know the sixty-four kalās[1].

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17. *जननी*—जन्मदातृ ।

18. *रमणी*—रमणयोग्या ।

1. १. गीतम् २. वाद्यम् ३. नृत्यम् ४. आलेख्यम् ५. विशेषकच्छेद्यम् ६. तण्डुल कुसुमावलिविकाराः ७. पुष्पास्तरणम् ८. दशनवसनाङ्गरागः ९. मणि भूमिका कर्म १०. शयन रचनम् ११. उदकवाद्यम् १२. उदकाघातः १३. चित्राश्च योगाः १४. माल्य ग्रंथन विकल्पाः १५. शेखरकापीडयोजनम् १६. नेपथ्य प्रयोगाः १७. कर्ण पत्रभङ्गाः १८. गन्धयुक्तिः १९. भूषण योजनम् २०. ऐन्द्रजालाः २१. कौचुमाराश्च योगाः २२. हस्तलाघवम् २३. विचित्र शाक यूष भक्ष्य विकार क्रिया २४. पानकरसरागासव योजनम् २५. सूचीवान कर्माणि २६. सूत्रक्रीडा २७. वीणा डमरूक वाद्यानि २८. प्रहेलिका २९. प्रतिमाला ३०. दुर्वाचक योगाः ३१. पुस्तकवाचनम् ३२. नाटकाख्यायिका दर्शनम् ३३. काव्य समस्यापूरणम् ३४. पट्टिकावेत्रवान विकल्पाः ३५. तक्ष कर्माणि ३६. तक्षणम् ३७. वास्तु विद्या ३८. रूप्य रत्नपरीक्षा ३९. धातुवादः ४०. मणिरागाकरज्ञानम् ४१. वृक्षायुर्वेद योगाः ४२. मेष कुक्कुट लावक युद्धविधिः ४३. शुकसारिकाप्रलापनम् ४४. उत्सादने संवाहने केशमर्दने च कौशलम् ४५. अक्षरमुष्टिका कथनम् ४६. म्लेच्छित विकल्पाः ४७. देशभाषा विज्ञानम् ४८. पुष्पशकटिका ४९. निमित्तज्ञानम् ५०. यन्त्र मातृका ५१. धारण मातृका ५२. संपाठ्यम् ५३. मानसी काव्यक्रिया ५४. अभिधानकोष ५५. छन्दो ज्ञानम् ५६. क्रिया कल्पः ५७. छलितक योगाः ५८. वस्त्रगोपनानि ५९. द्यूत विशेषः ६०. आकर्ष क्रीडा ६१. बालक क्रीडनकानि ६२. वैनयिकीनाम् ६३. वैजयिकीनां ज्ञानम् ६४. व्यायामिकीनां च विद्यानां ज्ञानम्—इति चतुः षष्टिरङ्गविद्याः कामसूत्रस्य ॥

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The Age of Marriage

A girl at the age of eight is called *Gaurī*, at nine, *Rohinī* ; at ten, *Kanyā* ; thereafter, she is called Rajaswalā. If she is not married before she becomes *Rajaswalā* (*i.e.* till the tenth year), her father, mother and elder brother, all of them shall go to hell.[1] (But in the *Ṛgveda we find* :— "Let girls, who are virgins, resembling cows that have never been milked before, who have passed the period of childhood and are about to leave single lives, are well-educated and cultured, fit to bear all the responsibilities of married life, and are in the full bloom of youth, who, by the practice of *Brahmacarya*, have reached a state of excellence and wisdom, which only those of great learning and high virtues can attain, marry husbands of mature age and bear children by them)".[2] That man alone, who after having taken the vows of *Brahmacarya* at the time of his initiation (upanayana) into it, and observed them strictly in student life, has perfected his knowledge, refined his character and who is well-dressed and enters married life in the full bloom of youth is as if born again (in knowledge and wisdom). He makes a name for himself and enjoys happiness. He is firm and courageous ; his mind is centred on the increase of knowledge and attainment of wisdom. Men of learning and piety give him their helping hand to elevate him. He is thus honoured amongst them."[3]

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1. अष्टवर्षा भवेद् गौरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी ।
दशवर्षा भवेत् कन्या तत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला ॥१॥
माता चैव पिता तस्या ज्येष्ठो भ्राता तथैव च ।
त्रयस्ते नरकं यान्ति दृष्ट्वा कन्यां रजस्वलाम् ॥२॥
पराशरस्मृति+शीघ्र बोध

2. आधेनवो धुनयन्तामीशांश्वीः, शबर्दुघाः शशया अप्रदुग्धाः ।
नव्या नव्या युवतयो भवन्तीर् महद्देवानाममुरत्वमेकम् ॥
ऋग्० ३।५५।१६

3. युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्, स उ श्रेयान् भवति जायमानः ।
धीरासः कवय उन्नयन्ति, स्वाध्यो मनसा देवयन्तः ॥
ऋ० ३।८।४

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Ṛṣi Dhanvantri, the founder of the Medical Science, the author of Suśruta book on medicine and surgery, thus forbids men and women of under age from attempting procreation. The impregnation of a woman less than sixteen years of age by a man less than 25 years of age is subject to misfortune.[1]

If it fruits in the birth of a child, the child will not live long, but if it lives long, it will be weak in constitution ; so the conception of a minor should not be encouraged.[2]

There are four stages of the human body :—

(*i*) Period of Adolescence—from 16th to 25th year.

(*ii*) Period of manhood—from 25th to 40th year.

(*iii*) Period of maturity—about the 40th year, when the tissues, organs and secretions of the body reach their highest state of perfection. Then comes the

(*iv*) Period of loss—in which excess of such secretions, as the reproductive element, begins to be lost, in sleep or through perspiration, etc. The best time for marriage, therefore, is the 40th, or rather the 48th year. This law of marriage does not apply to both sexes. If a man were to remain celebate (*Brahmacāri*) for 25, 30, 36, 40, 44, or 48 years, a woman should do so only for 16, 17, 18, 20 or 24 years respectively.[3]

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1. ऊन षोडश वर्षायामप्राप्त पञ्च विंशतिम् ।
यदाधत्ते पुमान् गर्भः कुक्षिस्थ स विपद्यते ॥४७॥
2. जातो वा न चिरञ्जीवेद् जीवेद्वा दुर्बलेन्द्रियः ।
तस्मादत्यन्त बालायां गर्भाधानं न कारयेत् ॥४८॥
सुश्रुत० सूत्रस्थान १०।४७-४८
3. चतस्रोऽवस्थाः शरीरस्य वृद्धियौंवनं सम्पूर्णता किञ्चित् परिहाणिश्चेति ।
आषोडशाद् वृद्धिः । आपञ्चविंशतेर्यौवनम् । आचत्वारिंशतः सम्पूर्णता ।
ततः किञ्चित् परिहाणिश्चेति ॥
पञ्चविंशे ततो वर्षे पुमान् नारी तु षोडशे ।
समत्वागतवीर्यौ तौ जानीयात्कुशलो भिषक् ॥
सुश्रुत० सूत्रस्थान अ० ३५

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The best time for marriage, for a girl, is from the sixteenth to the twenty-fourth year of her life and for a man, from the twenty-fifth to the forty-eighth year. The marriage of a girl of sixteen with a man of twenty-five years is called *inferior* marriage. The marriage of a girl of eighteen or twenty with a man of thirty-five or forty is called *medium* marriage. The marriage of a girl of twenty-four with a man of forty-eight is called *superior* marriage.

The best form of marriage is that by choice (Swayamvara) after the education of the contracting parties is finished and their *Brahmacarya* for the aforesaid periods completed. Happy is the country wherein the people devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge, live chaste lives and observe the aforesaid system of marriage. Down into the depths of misery sinks that country wherein the people do not practise *Brahmacarya*, nor acquire knowledge, where marriage in early life is in vogue and that of the unsuitable, for, marriage preceded by the practice of *Brahmacarya* and perfection of knowledge is the basis of all true reform and the source of all true happiness ; the reverse of it brings on the absolute ruin of the people who follow it.[1]

Gautama states that a wife must wait for six years, if her husband has disappeared. If he is heard of, she shall go to him. But if the husband has renounced domestic life, his wife must refrain from intercourse with other men. The wife of a Brāhmaṇa who has gone to a foreign country for the purpose of studying, must wait for twelve years. And in like manner, if an elder brother has gone to a foreign country, his younger brother must wait for twelve years

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1. Light of Truth by Dayananda, translation by Chiranjiva Bhāradvāja Chap. IV pp. 97-98.

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before he takes a wife or kindles the domestic fire. Some declare that he shall wait for six years.[1]

A marriageable maiden who is not given in marriage shall allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself, of her own will, to a blameless man, giving up the ornaments received from her father or her family. A girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it, commits sin. Some declare that a girl shall be given in marriage before she wears clothes. In order to defray the expenses of a wedding, and when engaged in a rite enjoined by the sacred law, he may take money by fraud or force from a Śūdra, or from a man rich in small cattle, who neglects his religious duties, though he does not belong to the Śūdra caste, or from the owner of a hundred cows, who does not kindle the sacred fire, or from the owner of a thousand cows, who does not drink Soma. And when he has not eaten at the time of six meals he may take at the time of the seventh meal as much as will sustain life, not such a quantity as will serve to make a hoard, even from men who do not neglect their duties.[2]

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1. नष्टे भर्तरि षड् वार्षिकं क्षपणम् ॥१५॥ श्रूयमाणेऽभिगमनम् ॥१६॥ प्रव्रजिते तु निवृत्तिः प्रसङ्गात् ॥१७॥ द्वादश वर्षाणि ब्राह्मणस्य विद्यासम्बन्धे ॥१८॥ भ्रातरि चैवं ज्यायसि यवीयान्कन्याग्न्युपयमेषु ॥१९॥ षडित्येके ॥२०॥ गौतम ध० सू० १८।१५-२०

2. त्रीन् कुमार्यृतूनतीत्य स्वयं युज्येता निन्दितेनोत्सृत्य पित्र्यानलङ्कारान् ॥२१॥ प्रदानं प्रागृतोः ॥२२॥ अप्रयच्छन् दोषी ॥२३॥ प्राग्वाससः प्रतिपत्तेरित्येके ॥२४॥ द्रव्यादानं विवाह सिद्धचर्थम् ॥२५॥ धर्म तन्त्र संगे च ॥२६॥ शूद्रात् ॥२७॥ अन्यत्रापि शूद्रात् ॥२८॥ बहुपशोर्हीन-कर्मणः ॥२९॥ शतगोर नाहिताग्नेः ॥३०॥ सहस्रगोश्चासोमपात् ॥३१॥ सप्तमीं चाभुक्त्वाऽनिचयाय ॥३२॥ अप्यहीन-कर्मभ्यः ॥३३॥

गौतम ध० सू० १८।२१-२३

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If he is examined by the king regarding his deed, he shall confess it and his condition. For if he possesses sacred learning and a good character, he must be maintained by the king. If the sacred law is violated and the king does not do his duty, he commits sin.[1]

According to *Vasiṣtha*, if through the father's negligence, a maiden is given away after the suitable age has passed, she, who was waiting for a husband, destroys him who gives her away..... Out of fear of the appearance of menses, let the father marry his daughter while she still goes about naked, for if she stays in the house after the age of puberty, sin falls upon the father.[2]

According to *Baudhāyana*, one should give one's daughter, while she still goes about naked, to a man who has not broken the vow of chastity and who possesses good qualities, or even to one destitute of good qualities. He should not keep the maiden in his house after she has reached the age of puberty.[3]

Yajñavalkya states that having completed his Vedic studies or the vows of celebacy, or the both, and after having paid the best fee to his preceptor, he should, with his preceptor's permission take his bath. A maiden should be taken from a highly respectable family, of persons well-read in the Vedas, and inheriting the virtue of ten generations—five degrees higher on both the paternal and

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1. आचक्षीत राज्ञा पृष्टः ॥३४॥ तेनहि भर्तव्यः श्रुत शील सम्पन्नश्चेत् ॥३५॥ धर्मतन्त्रपीडायां तस्य करणेऽदोषोऽदोषः ॥३६॥

गौतम ध० सू० १८।३४-३६

2. पितुः प्रमादात्तु यदाह कन्या वयः प्रमाणं समतीत्य दीयते । सा हन्ति दातार मुदीक्षमाणा कालातिरिक्ता गुरु दक्षिणेव ॥६१॥ प्रयच्छेन्नग्निकां कन्या-मृतुकाल भयात् पिता । ऋतुमत्यां हि तिष्ठन्त्यां दोषः पितरमृच्छति ॥६२॥

वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।६१-६२

3. दद्याद् गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे । अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोप-रुन्ध्याद् रजस्वलाम् ॥

वौधायन ध० सू०४।१।१२

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maternal side, prosperous with riches and servants; but not even from such a family, if there be any hereditary disease. A bridegroom should be endowed with all the accomplishments enumerated above, be of the same caste and social standing, well-read in the Vedas, carefully examined about his manly power, youthful, intelligent and agreeable to all the people.[1]

Manu states, that man or woman is entitled to enter the family life who has practised Brahmacarya in accordance with the preceptor's instructions, has read all the four, three, two, or atleast one Veda with their auxiliary literature with righteousness and who has chastity.[2]

According to *Gautama*, a householder shall take a wife of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man and is younger than himself. A marriage may be contracted between persons who have not the same Pravaras, and who are not related within six degrees on the father's side, or on the side of the begetter, nor within four degrees on the mother's side.[3]

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1. गुरवे तु वरं दत्त्वा स्नायीत तदनुज्ञया ।
वेदं व्रतानि वा पारं नीत्वाप्युभयमेव वा ॥५१॥
दशपुरुषविख्याताच्छ्रोत्रियाणां महाकुलात् ।
स्फीतादपि न सञ्चारि रोग दोषसमन्वितात् ॥५४॥
एतैरेव गुणैर्युक्तः सवर्णः श्रोत्रियो वरः ।
यत्नात् परीक्षितः पुंस्त्वे युवा धीमान् जनप्रियः ॥५५॥
याज्ञ० १।५१, ५४-५५

2. वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वाऽपि यथाक्रमम् ।
अविप्लुत ब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममाविशेत् ॥ मनु० ३।२
अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वै दिवानिशम् ।
विषयेषु च मज्जन्त्यः संस्थाप्य आत्मनो वशे ॥२॥
पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्त्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा व स्त्री न स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥३॥ मनु० ९।२-३

3. गृहस्थस्सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देतानन्यपूर्वां यवीयसीम् ॥१॥ असमानप्रवरैः विवाहः ॥२॥ ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पितृबन्धुभ्यः ॥३॥ बीजिनश्च ॥४॥ मातृ बन्धुभ्यः पञ्चमात् ॥५॥ गौतम ध० सू० ४।१-५

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According to *Vasiṣṭha*, one should marry a girl who has no common Ṛṣi (as her ancestor)..... nor one who is in the seventh grade among his paternal and in the fifth grade among his maternal relations. She should be of a high family.[1]

Baudhāyana holds that one should give his daughter, while she still goes about naked, to a man who has not broken the vow of chastity and who possesses good qualities; or even to one destitute of good qualities; let him not keep the maiden in his house after she has reached the age of puberty. He who does not give away a marriageable daughter within three years of her puberty doubtlessly contracts a guilt equal to that of killing an embryo. He who does not approach, during three years, a wife who is marriageable, incurs without doubt, a guilt equal to that of killing an embryo; but if a man does not approach his wife after she has bathed after her temporary uncleanliness, though he dwells near her,—his ancestors lie, during that month, in the menstrual excretions of the wife. The guilt of the husband who does not approach his wife in due season,—of him who approaches her during her temporary uncleanliness, and of him who commits an unnatural crime, is equally heinous.[2]

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1. गृहस्थो विनीत क्रोध हर्षो गुरुणाऽनुज्ञातः स्नात्वाऽसमानार्षामस्पृष्टमैथुनां यवीयसीं सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देत ॥१॥ न पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुभ्यः सप्तमीं पितृबन्धुभ्यः ॥२॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ८। १-२

   तस्मात् कुलीनां स्त्रियमुद्वहन्ति ॥ बौधा० ध० सू० १।३९

2. दद्याद् गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे।
   अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपरुन्ध्याद्रजस्वलाम् ॥१२॥
   त्रीणिवर्षाण्यृतुमतीं य कन्यां न प्रयच्छति।
   स तुल्यं भ्रूण हत्यायै दोषमृच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥१३॥
   त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमतीं यो भार्यां नाधिगच्छति।
   स तुल्यं भ्रूणहत्यायै दोषमृच्छत्य संशयम् ॥१९॥

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Āpastamba states that one shall not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (Gotra), nor to one related within six degrees on the mother's or the father's side. Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man, and who has been married legally, have a right to follow the occupations of their castes, and to inherit the estate.[1]

Yajñavalkya holds that a twice-born one, whose celebacy has not been disturbed, should, marry a maiden endued with auspicious marks, (*i.e.* shorn of all defects, such as eunuchism, etc.), *ananya-pūrvikām* (who had not been known by any one before or who had not previously been promised to any one), beautiful, *aspindām*, (*i.e.*, remote from his father's family by seven degrees and that of his mother by five,) younger in age, freed from incurable diseases, having brother, born in a different *gotra* (family), distanced from his mother's family by five degrees and that of his father by seven.[2]

Continued from pre-page

ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपयच्छति ।
पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन् रजसि शेरते ॥२०॥
ऋतौ नोपैति यो भार्यां मनृतौ यश्च गच्छति ।
तुल्यमाहुस्तयोर्दोषमयोनौ यश्च सिञ्चति ॥२१॥
बौधायन ध० सू० ४।१।१२-१३, १९-२१]

1. स गोत्राय दुहितरं न प्रयच्छेत् ॥१५॥ मातुश्च योनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥१६॥ सवर्णां पूर्वं शास्त्र विहितां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः संबन्धः ॥१॥ दायेनाव्यतिक्रमश्चोभयोः ॥२॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।११।१५-१६; २।६।१३।१-२

2. अविप्लुत ब्रह्मचर्यो लक्षण्यां स्त्रियमुद्वहेत् ।
अनन्यपूर्वकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यवीयसीम् ॥५२॥
अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानर्षिगोत्रजाम् ।
पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥५३॥
याज्ञ० १।५२-५३

यस्यास्तु न भवेद् भ्राता न विज्ञायते वा पिता ।
मनु० ३।११

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According to *Manu*, on completion of education and returning home, a student should spouse a maid of his own choice, as far as possible from his own clan, but not of descent from his mother's family and never in the family of his father. She should not be chosen from the family of persons having such transmissible diseases as phthisis, epilepsy, leprosy, elephantiasis etc. She should have charming features and an attractive name and be equal in qualifications to him. Nobody should marry the girls of the following characteristics : Yellow-coloured (jaundiced), taller, fatter or stouter than the husband, invalidated, having no hair, having excessive hairs, talkative, brown-eyed. A woman of the following characteristics should be married : Of symmetric limbs ; of beautiful names such as Yaśoda, Sukhadā ; of goose-like or elephant-like gait, of short hair and small teeth, of delicate body[1]. She should not be without a brother.[2]

Eight Forms of Marriage[1]

The Laws of *Manu* (III, 27-34) and others have thoroughly described the eight forms of Hindu marriage in an order of preference :—

(1) The first one is called *Brāhma* which primarily and expressly aims at the achievement of Brahman or God, *i.e.*

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1. गुरुणाऽनुमतः स्नात्वा समावृत्तो यथाविधि ।
उद्वहेत् द्विजो भार्यां सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् ॥४॥
असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
द्विजातीनां स प्रशस्ता दार कर्मणि मैथुनी ॥५॥
नोद्वहेत् कपिलां कन्यां नाधिकाङ्गीं न रोगिणीम् ।
नालोमिकां नातिलोमां न वाचालां न पिङ्गलाम् ॥८॥
अव्यङ्गाङ्गीं सौम्य नाम्नीं हंस वारण गामिनीम् ।
तनु लोम केश दशनां मृदङ्गीमुद्वहेत् स्त्रियम् ॥१०॥
मनु० ३।४, ५, ८, १०

2. अभ्रातरो न पोषणः । ऋग्० ४।५।५

3. ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्षः प्राजापत्यस्तथाऽऽसुरः ।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाऽष्टमोऽधमः ॥ ०मनु ३।२१

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salvation through the performance of householder's duties. This may be translated as spiritual. "The gift of a marriage-able daugher with suitable dowries is made to a learned man of good conduct whom the father or guardian invites."[1]

The union of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, which is cited as an illustration, shows, however, that the bride herself underwent severe penances in order to secure the affection and companionship of the learned God. The instance of *Arundhati* and *Vasiṣtha* also indicate a mutual desire of the bridge and the groom for an intellectual companionship in addition to partnership of house-holder's duties. It is, therefore, considered as an ideal form for all.

(2) In the next, *Daiva* or divine, form of marriage, "the gift of a daughter who has been decked with ornaments is made to a priest who duly officiates in a sacrifice during the course of its performance". The competent priest of ancient times was considered as the most promising man of the society having proved his attainments and character by the successful performance of priestly duties, which was the most noble and lucrative profession in ancient societies. Such a groom would be the first choice of the bride and her parents at any time. Such union promises intellectual companionship, economic freedom and an aristocratic social status. This may be illustrated by the marriage of Cyavana and Ricikā and of Indra and Indārī. The latter instance will show its royal character.[2]

(3) The *Ārṣa* or sagely form derives its significance from *Ṛṣi* (sage) who is usually reluctant to undertake the responsibilities of wedlock and wants to remain free to follow his intellectual pursuits. He is respected for his

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1. आच्छाद्य चार्हयित्वा च श्रुतशीलवते स्वयम् ।
   आहूय दानं कन्याया ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ मनु० ३।२७
2. यज्ञे तु वितते सम्यक् ऋत्विजे कर्म कुर्वते ।
   अलङ्कृत्य सुतादानं दैवं धर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥ मनु० ३।२८

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brain power and character and is expected to beget intellectual children who are an asset of the society. Thus both the bride and her parents desire to have such a bridegroom. The decision of such a groom to enter into the matrimonial connection is implied by the condition of this form.

The parents of the bride give away their daughter to a sage after receiving from the bridegroom, for the fulfilment of the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs.

It is clear that the cattle given by the groom is not the sale-price of the bride; it merely indicates that the sagely groom has decided to live a house-holder's life and earn his livelihood by agricultural pursuits. The cattle given to the bride's parents serve both as security and surety. Even if no children are born of such union, the sagely temper and the congenial companionship are ensured.

The marriage of the sage *Āgastya* with *Lopāmudra* may be cited as an illustration. This is an ordinary middle class marriage and has no spiritual bias in it.[1]

(4) The fourth commendable form is significantly called *Mānuṣa* (human) or Prājāpatya which expressly aims at children (prajā). In contrast to the spiritual, divine and sagely forms this is the ordinary human union of man and woman solemnized with the express injunction—"May both of you perform together your duties." Its main purpose is indicated by its title of *prājāpatya* which implies that the husband and wife should unite for the purpose of giving birth to children. There is an instinctive desire of sexes, the fulfilment of which is emphasized by this form. It also reveals the fundamental nature of Hindu and other marriages, viz., a wife is to be secured to beget a son (or a daughter) in order to perpetuate the householder's duties of offering oblations to the manes, feeding the dependants,

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1. एकं गोमिथुनं द्वे वा वरादादाय धर्मतः ।
कन्या प्रदानं विधिवदार्षो धर्मोऽयमुच्यते ॥ मनु० ३।२९

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guests and the needy beings, and thereby maintain the society and its institution.[1]

These four forms are stated to be the normal and laudable ones. The children of these four forms are stated to be "endowed with the qualities of beauty and goodness, possessing wealth and fame, obtaining as many enjoyments as they desire and being most righteous they will live hundred years". Thus the laudable marriages are to be judged not only by personal comfort, convenience and happiness of the husband and wife but also by the fruits.

The remaining four are the special forms allowed but not preferred owing to the special circumstances and human weaknesses. The object was to keep up the social order, discipline, and equilibrium. But the children of these blamable marriages are stated to be cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the Veda and the sacred law.

(5) The fifth form is *Āsura* or undivine. According to this form a bridegroom receives a grown up maiden after having given, according to his own will, as much wealth as he can afford to the kinsmen and the bride herself. It implies a sort of elopment and money is paid in settlement of the anger of the bride's people and the security of the bride herself. It may be illustrated by the marriage of *Pāndu* and *Mādrī* of the *Mahābhārata* fame.[2]

(6) The *Gāndharva* is the love or romantic form. It is the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover like the *Gāndharvas* who indulge in sexual connection whenever they fall in love. They have no patience to await the sanction of the society. The sexual intercourse which is its only purpose takes place before any rites are observed. It is, however,

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1. सहोभौ चरतां धर्म मिति वाचा नु भाष्य च ।
कन्या प्रदानमभ्यर्च्य प्राजापत्यो विधिः स्मृतः ॥ मनु० ३।३०

2. ज्ञातिभ्यो द्रविणं दत्वा कन्यायै चैव शक्तितः ।
कन्या प्रदानं स्वाच्छन्द्यादासुरो धर्म उच्यते ॥ मनु० ३।३१

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recognized by the society after the usual rites are performed inorder to maintain sexual purity, social peace and individual harmony. The marriage of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta may be cited as an illustration.[1]

(7) The *Rākṣasa* or heroic form implies the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries out and weeps after her kinsmen have been slain.

The society recognized this high-handedness inorder to offer facilities to a hero to accept the abducted maiden as his lawfully married wife after going through the usual ceremonies. This form is illustrated by the abduction of *Subhadrā by Arjuna* and *of Rukmaṇi by Kṛṣṇa*. These marriages proved happy and successful. This is perhaps the reason for the continuance of its formal character in the modern marriage procession of the bridegroom which in some places looks like a military expedition composed of dummy forces and martial music.[2]

(8) *Paiśāca* or *devilish* form is the mere molestation of a girl by stealth when she is in sleep, intoxicated or in an unbalanced state of intellect. The union of *Ūṣā* and *Pradyumna* may be cited as an illustration.[3]

This and *Āsura* (undivine) forms were considered unlawful even in *Manu's* time.[4]

The readiness, however, of the state to recognize such outrage as marriage after due performance of usual rites

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1. इच्छयाऽन्योऽन्यसंयोगः कन्यायाश्च वरस्य च ।
गान्धर्वः स तु विज्ञेयो मैथुन्यः कामसम्भवः ॥ मनु० ३।३२
2. हत्वा छित्वा च भित्वा च क्रोशन्तीं रुदतीं गृहात् ।
प्रसह्य कन्या हरतो राक्षसो विधिरुच्यते ॥ मनु० ३।३३
3. सुप्तां मत्तां प्रमत्तां वा रहो यत्रोपगच्छति ।
स पापिष्ठो विवाहानां पैशाचः प्रथितोऽष्टमः ॥ मनु० ३।३४
4. पंचानां तु त्रयो धर्म्या द्वावधर्म्यौ स्मृताविह ।
पैशाचश्चासुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यौ कदाचन ॥ मनु० ३।२५

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implies the sagacity of the society, because the object was to maintain the sexual purity and social discipline.

These eight forms, it should be noted, display various principles. The first four commendable forms are parent-made alliances but they imply mutual consent. They should be considered as adult marriage for, otherwise, the injunctions and conditions lose their significance altogether. There is hardly any trace of medieval fanaticism about them. They are modern in their dignified outlook and suit the temperament of the members of a civilized society.

Of the remaining four *Āsura* and *Paiśāca* were considered unlawful even in ancient time. The principle of the former appears to be purchase, but that is ficticious, because the purchase money is returned by the bride's parents to her husband. The latter is brutal violation of the modesty of a girl. Both these clearly imply adult alliance, because unless the girl is sufficiently grown up there would be no inducement to elopment or *violations* by force.

The other two forms, *Gāndharva* (romantic) and *Rākṣasa* (heroic), are similarly adult union. In the former the immediate purpose is sexual intercourse. In the latter also if the girl be not sufficiently grown up there will be hardly any inducement for abduction and consequent fight.[1]

These inferences are in apparent contradiction to the lower ages of marriage prescribed. It seems, however, that the lower limit was fixed to suit the special condition of local application.

All these different kinds of marriages are recognized in the Hindu Law-books. Manu did not shut his eyes to

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1. दशपूर्वान् परान् वंश्यानात्मानं चैक विंशकम् ।
ब्राह्मी पुत्रः सुकृतकृन्मोचयत्येनसः पितॄन् ॥
दैवोढजासुतश्चैव सप्त सप्त परावरान् ।
आर्षोढजासुत स्त्रींस्त्रीन् षट् षट् कायोढजा सुतः ॥ मनु० ३।३७-३८

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the practices of his contemporaries. He arranges in an order all the different kinds of marriages. While marriages in which personal inclination is subordinated rank high, those by mutual choice (*Gāndharva*), force (*Rākṣasa*), purchase (*Āsura*) come lower. The lowest is *Paiśāca*. When the lover ravishes a maiden without her consent, when she is asleep, or intoxicated or deranged in mind, we have a case of *Paiśāca* marriage. It is a very low kind of marriage, but admitted as valid with the laudable motive of giving the injured women the status of wives and their off-springs legitimacy.

Gautama Dharma Sūtra states that if the father gives his daughter dressed in two garments and decked with ornaments to a person possessing sacred learning, of virtuous conduct, who has relatives and a good disposition, that is a (1) *Brāhma* wedding. At the (2) *Prājāpatya* wedding the marriage formula is, "fulfil the law conjointly."[1]

At the (3) *Ārṣa* wedding the bridegroom shall present a cow and a bull to him who has authority over the maiden. If the bride is given, decked with ornaments, to a priest at the altar, that is a (4) *Daiva* wedding. The spontaneous union with a willing maiden is called a (5) *Gāndharva* wedding. If those who have authority over a female are propitiated by money, that is an (6) *Āsura* wedding. If the bride is taken by force, that is a (7) *Rākṣasa* wedding. If a man embraces a female deprived of consciousness, that is a (8) *Paiśāca* wedding.

The first four rites are lawful ; some say, the first six. Virtuous sons are born of wives of equal caste and wedded according to approved rites sanctify their father's family.

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1. ब्राह्मो विद्याचारित्र बन्धु शील सम्पन्नाय दद्यादाच्छाद्यालंकृताम् ॥६॥
संयोग मन्त्रः प्राजापत्ये सह धर्मश्चर्यतामिति ॥७॥
गौतम ध० सू० ४।६-७

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A son born of a wife married according to the (6) *Ārṣa* rite saves three ancestors from hell, a son born of a wife married according to the (4) *Daiva* rite ten, a son born of a wife married according to the (2) *Prājāpatya* rite, also ten. But the son of a wife married according to the (1) *Brāhma* rite saves ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself.[1]

According to *Vasiṣtha Dharma Sūtra* there are six forms of marriages—*Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra* and *Mānuṣa. Brāhma* is the form of marriage in which the father gives away the girl to a person desirous of having a wife, after having made to him an offering of water. In course of a sacrificial performance, if one gives his girl, after having decked her to the priest carrying on his sacrificial duties,—this they call the *Daiva* marriage. The *Ārṣa* is accomplished by means of a pair of cow and bull. It is the *Gāndharva* when the man loving the girl who loves himself, and is similar to himself, marries her. When they suddenly attack with force and take away the girl, it is the *Kṣātra* form of marriage. When one obtains a girl who has been purchased with wealth after staking, it is the

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1. आर्षे गोमिथुनं कन्यावते दद्यात् ॥८॥ अन्तर्वेद्यृत्विजे दानं दैवः ॥९॥ अलंकृत्येच्छन्त्याः स्वयं संयोगो गान्धर्वः ॥१०॥ वित्तेनानतिः स्त्रीमतामासुरः ॥११॥ प्रसह्यादानाद् राक्षसः ॥१२॥ असंविज्ञातोप संगमनात् स पैशाचः ॥१३॥ चत्वारो धर्म्याः प्रथमाः ॥१४॥ षडित्येके ॥१५॥

गौतम ध० सू० ४।८-१५

पुनन्ति साधवः पुत्राः ॥२९॥ त्रिपुरुष मार्षात् ॥३०॥ दश दैवात् ॥३१॥ दशैव प्राजापत्यात् ॥३२॥ दशपूर्वान् दशापरानात्मानं च ब्राह्मी पुत्रो ब्रह्मीपुत्रः ॥३३॥

गौतम ध० सू० ४।२९-३३

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Mānuṣa form. [*Mānuṣa* is another name for Āsura, says the *Vīrmitrodaya Sanskāra*, p. 853.][1]

According to *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, there are eight kinds of marriages. The *Brāhma* form consists in giving the girl to a man who has kept the vows of the religious student seeking for wife, after having tested his learning and character. Having dressed and adorned her, if she is given away, with the exhortation, may this girl co-operate with you in the performance of duty,—this constitutes the *Prājāpatya* form. After having made the first two offerings of fried grains, the bridegroom should present a pair of cow and bull to the bride's guardian and then marry her ; this is the *Ārṣa* form. At the time when the sacrificial fees are being given, if the girl is given to the priest within the sacrificial altar,—this is the *Daiva*. It is the *Āsura* which is performed after satisfying with wealth the girl and her guardians. *Gāndharva* consists in the mutual union of the loving bride and the loving bridegroom. When there is taking away by force, it is the *Rākṣasa*. When one marries a girl while she is asleep, or unconscious, or mad, it is the *Paiśāca*.[2] Of these, four are

1. षड्विवाहाः—ब्राह्मो दैवः आर्षो गान्धर्वः क्षात्रो मानुषश्चेति ॥२९॥ इच्छत उदकपूर्वं यां दद्यात् स ब्राह्मः ॥३०॥ यज्ञ तन्त्रे वितत ऋत्विजे कर्म कुर्वते कन्यां दद्यादलंकृत्य यं दैवमित्याचक्षते ॥३१॥ गोमिथुनेन चाऽऽर्षः ॥३२॥ सकामां कामयमानः सदृशीं यो निरुन्ध्यात् स गान्धर्वः ॥३३॥ यां बलेन सहसा प्रमथ्य हरन्ति स क्षात्रः ॥३४॥ पणित्वा धनक्रीतां स मानुषः ॥३५॥ तस्माद् दुहितृमते अधिरथं देयमिति ह क्रयो विज्ञायते ॥३६॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १।२९-३६

2. अष्टौ विवाहाः ॥१॥ श्रुत शीले विज्ञाय ब्रह्मचारिणेऽर्थिने दीयते स ब्राह्मः ॥२॥ आच्छाद्यालंकृत्यैषा (तया) सह धर्मश्चर्यतामिति प्राजापत्यः ॥३॥ पूर्वां लाजाहुतिं हुत्वा गोमिथुनं कन्यावते दद्यात् स आर्षः ॥४॥ दक्षिणासु नीयमाना स्वन्तर्वेद्यृत्विजे स दैवः ॥५॥ धेनवोपतोष्याऽऽसुरः ॥६॥ सकामेन सकामाया मिथः संयोगो गान्धर्वः ॥७॥ प्रसह्य हरणाद्राक्षसः ॥८॥ सुप्तां मत्तां प्रमत्तां वोपयच्छेदिति पैशाचः ॥९॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।११।१-९

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commended for the *Brāhmaṇa*, of these the preceding being more commendable than the succeeding; and of the remaining four, the succeeding is more reprehensible than the preceding; of these again, the sixth and the seventh are in keeping with the character of the *Kṣatriya*—and the fifth and the eighth for the *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra*, because *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* have no restrictions regarding their wives.[1]

Āpastamba states that at the wedding called *Brāhma*, he shall give away his daughter for bearing children and performing the rites that must be performed together by a husband and his wife, after having enquired regarding the bridegroom's family, character, learning and health and after having given to the bride ornaments according to his power. At the wedding called *Ārṣa*, the bridegroom shall present to the father of the bride a bull and a cow.[2] At the wedding called *Daiva*, the father shall give her to an officiating priest, who is performing a *Śrauta*-sacrifice. If a maiden and a lover unite themselves through love, that is called the *Gāndharva* rite. If the suitor pays money for his bride according to his ability, and marries her afterwards, that marriage is called the *Āsura*-rite. If the bridegroom and his friends take away the bride, after having overcome by force her father or relations, that is called the *Rākṣasa*-rite. The first three amongst

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1. तेषां चत्वारः पूर्वे ब्राह्मणस्य ॥१०॥ तेष्वपि पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् ॥११॥ उत्तरेषामुत्तरोत्तरः पापीयान् ॥१२॥ अत्रापि षष्ठसप्तमौ क्षत्रधर्मानुगतौ तत्प्रत्ययत्वात्क्षत्रस्य ॥१३॥ पञ्चमाष्टमौ वैश्य शूद्राणाम् ॥१४॥ अयन्त्रित-कलत्रा हि वैश्य शूद्रा भवन्ति ॥१५॥

बौधायन ध० सू० १।११।१०-१५

2. ब्राह्मे विवाहे बन्धुशील श्रुतारोग्याणि बुद्ध्वा प्रजा सहत्व कर्मभ्यः प्रति-पादयेच् छक्ति विषयेणालंकृत्य ॥१७॥ आर्षे दुहितृमते मिथुनौ गावौ देयौ ॥१८॥ दैवे यज्ञ तन्त्र ऋत्विजे प्रजापादयेत् ॥१९॥

आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।११।१७-१९

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these marriage-rites are considered praiseworthy; each preceding one better than the one following. The quality of the off-spring is according to the quality of the marriage-rite.[1]

According to *Yajñavalkya* that marriage is called a *Brāhma* marriage where a maiden, adorned according to one's own power, is given away to a bridegroom on being invited. A son, begotten of such a marriage, sanctifies twenty-one generations. That is called *Daiva* marriage in which a maiden is given to a priest, engaged in a sacrifice.[2]

A marriage that is celebrated after taking a pair of cows is called *Ārṣa*. A son, born of the former, sanctifies fourteen generations and that of the latter, six. A marriage in which a maiden is given to a soliciting person after saying practise religion with her, is called *Kāyaḥ*. A son begotten of such a marriage ; sanctifies six generations upwards and six generations downwards together with the soul of the begetter. *Āsura* marriage is that in which money is taken in exchange for the bride ; *Gāndharva* marriage is that in which the parties unite themselves by a vow of mutual love, a *Rākṣasa* marriage is that in which the maiden is carried away by fighting ; and a *Paiśāca* marriage is that in which a maiden is taken away stealthily while asleep or by stratagem.[3]

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1. मिथः कामात् संवर्तेते स गान्धर्वः ॥२०॥ शक्तिविषयेण द्रव्याणि दत्वा वहेरन् स आसुरः ॥१॥ दुहितृमतः प्रोथयित्वा वहेरन्स राक्षसः ॥२॥ तेषां त्रय आद्याः प्रशस्ताः पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् ॥३॥ यथा युक्तो विवाहस्तथा युक्ता प्रजा भवति ॥४॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।११।२० आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।१२।१-४

2. ब्राह्मो विवाह आहूय दीयते शक्त्यलंकृता ।
तज्जः पुनात्युभयतः पुरुषानेक विंशतिम् ॥५८॥
यज्ञस्थ ऋत्विजेदैव आदायार्षस्तु गोद्वयम् ।
चतुर्दश प्रथमजः पुनात्युत्तरजश्च षट् ॥५९॥ याज्ञ० १।५८-५९

3. इत्युक्त्वा चरतां धर्मं सह या दीयतेऽर्थिने ।
स कायः पावयत्यद्यः षट् षड् वंश्यान् सहात्मना ॥६०॥
आसुरा द्रविणा दानाद् गान्धर्वः समयान्मिथः ।
राक्षसो युद्धहरणात् पैशाचः कन्यकाच्छलात् ॥६१॥ याज्ञ १।६०-६१

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The System of Svayamvara

Ṛgveda states that when a bride is fine-looking and well-adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men.[1]

Gautama states that a marriageable maiden who is not given in marriage shall allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself, of her own will to a blameless man, giving up the ornaments received from her father or her family.[2]

Vasiṣtha states that a maiden who has attained puberty shall wait for three years ; after three years, she may herself take a husband of equal caste.[3]

According to *Baudhāyana* a marriageable damsel should wait for three years for the order of her father. But after that time, she should choose her husband for herself in the fourth year, who should be of the same caste. If none of equal rank is to be found, she may take even one destitute of good qualities.[4]

According to *Yajñavalkya*, if there are no persons to give her away, the maiden shall herself take a suitable husband.[5]

According to *Manu* a marriageable maiden shall wait for three years. After that she should herself get her

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1. भद्रा वधूर्भवति यत्सुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रं वनुते जने चित् ।
ऋग्० १०।२७।१२

2. त्रीन् कुमार्यृतूनतीत्य स्वयं
युज्येताऽनिन्दितेनोत्सृज्य पित्र्यानलङ्कारान् । गौ० ध० सू० १८।२१

3. कुमार्यृतुमती त्रीणि वर्षाण्युपासीतोर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यो वर्षेभ्यः पतिं विन्देत्तुल्यम् ॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७-५९

4. त्रीणिवर्षाण्यृतुमती काङ्क्षेत पितृ-शासनम् । ततश्चतुर्थे वर्षे तु विन्देत् सदृशं पतिम् ॥ अविद्यमाने सदृशे गुणहीनामपि श्रयेत् ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० ४।१।१५

5. गम्यन्त्वभावे दातृणां कन्या कुर्यात् स्वयम्वरम् ॥ याज्ञ० १।६४

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husband, of equal qualities and qualifications. If she is not given to any husband, then, she should herself go to him. In this way sin neither comes to her nor to him whom she gets. Such a woman should not get any ornaments from her father, mother or brother. If she does take, in that case, that would be taken as theft.[1]

Merits and Demerits of a near or distant Marriage

(1) The marriage between those persons is never happy who have been constantly together from their very childhood, who have played, quarrelled and loved; who have known each other's merits, demerits and nature and aberrations of immature life and who have seen each other even in their nakedness.

(2) Just as water mixed with water does not give rise to a new quality, similarly, marriage within the father's or the mother's family is not conducive to desired growth due to the absence of necessary variations in blood.

(3) Just as milk improves by the mixture of sugar or other ingredients such as *sontha* (ginger), similarly, the couple to be married should be beyond the pale of the mother's and the father's families.

(4) As in the case of an invalid, change of climate and diet very often effects a cure, so does marriage with foreigners or distant people improves the health of the parties and proves beneficial in every other respect.

(5) When the parties are nearly related to each other and live amongst their people, the sorrows and joys of

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1. त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विन्देत सदृशं पतिम् ॥९०॥
अदीयमाना भर्तारमधि गच्छेद्यदि स्वयम्।
नैनः किञ्चिदवाप्नोति न च यं साऽधि गच्छति ॥९१॥
अलङ्कारं नाददीत पित्र्यं कन्या स्वयंवरा।
मातृ भ्रातृ-दत्तं वा स्तेना स्याद्यदि तं हरेत् ॥९२॥ मनु० ९।९०-९२

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one family will affect the other and there will be many occasions for family disputes to arise; while marriages among distant people and consequent separation from relatives lengthen the thread of mutual love.[1] This is not the case when they live near their people.

(6) Distant marriages also lead to the interchange of manners and productions among distant people. Therefore, it has been said[2] :—

> "A girl is called *duhitā* (daughter) because it is always good to marry her at a distant place, and not in near one."

(7) Near-marriages might also cause poverty to her parent's family as she might go there too often and the parents be obliged to give her presents every now and then.

(8) Proximity might create a consciousness of vanity in the mind of the wife and lead to disruption or inequanimity. A trifling difference might tempt the wife to run to her father's house; complaints might arise and the gulf between the two families might be widened. Females are well-known for their tender and excitable feelings. For these reasons, marriage connections should not be held in the father's family, within the mother's six generations and in near localities. Therefore, marriages in distant countries are preferable, because they obviate contempt from familiarity, mix different bloods, improve the race, recuperate the health from change of climate, keep off each others' family-quarrels and bring new things and new persons in contact.

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1. परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः, प्रत्यक्षद्विषः। शतपथ०
2. दुहिता दुर्हिता दूरे हिता दोग्धेर्वा भवतीति। निरुक्त ३।४

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Position of Women as Wife

Legal Status of a Wife

If a wife dies, her husband may marry another wife.[1] If a wife becomes fallen by drunkenness or immorality, her husband may marry another.[2] If a wife be barren, her husband may marry another wife.[3] If a husband be impotent, she may marry another husband. In particular circumstances a wife may cease to cohabit with her husband.[4] If a husband deserts his wife, she may marry another.[5] If a wife treats her husband with aversion, he may cease to cohabit with her.[6]

Number of Wives permitted by the Dharma Sūtras

In the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, we find references which give indications as to the number of wives one was permitted to have. These references indicate that people were permitted to have more than one wife. The Dharma Sūtra states that if the teacher is not present, the student shall seek permission to eat from his teacher's *wives*.[7]

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1. भार्यायै पूर्वमारिण्यै दत्त्वाग्नीनन्त्यकर्मणि ।
   पुनर्दारक्रियां कुर्यात्पुनराधानमेव च ॥ मनु० ५।१६८
2. मद्यपाऽसत्य (असाधु) वृत्ता च प्रतिकूला च या भवेत् ।
   व्याधिता वाऽधिवेत्तव्या हिंस्रार्थघ्नी च सर्वदा ॥ मनु० ९।८०
3. वन्ध्याष्टमेऽधिवेद्याब्दे दशमे तु मृतप्रजा ।
   एकादशे स्त्रीजननी सद्यस्त्वप्रियवादिनी ॥ मनु० ९।८१
4. उन्मत्तं पतितं क्लीवमबीजं पापरोगिणम् ।
   न त्यागोऽस्ति दिषन्त्याश्च न च दाया पवर्तनम् ॥ मनु० ९।७९
5. प्रोषितो धर्मकार्यार्थं प्रतीक्ष्योऽष्टौ नरः समाः ।
   विद्यार्थं षड्यशोऽर्थं वा कामार्थं त्रींस्तु वत्सरान् ॥ मनु० ९।७६
6. संवत्सरं प्रतीक्षेत द्विषाणां योषितं पतिः ।
   ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्त्वेनां दायं हृत्वा न संवसेत् ॥ मनु० ९।७७
7. विप्रोष्योपसंग्रहणं गुरुभार्याणाम् ॥ गौ० ध० सू० २।४०
   एके स्त्रीषु ॥ गौ० ध० सू० २४।५
   स्त्रीषु च संयुक्तासु ॥ गौ० ध० सू० २८।४८

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Some declare, that this rule holds good in the case of *one's own wives* only. Nor shall a partition be made of *women* connected with members of the family.

In the above Sūtras we find references of *many wives, first married wife* and *the later married wife.* From these references it is quite obvious that at the time of Gautama, people, generally, were allowed to marry *girls more than one* at a time, even during the lifetime of the first wife. It appears that even the educated community of the teachers had many wives at that time.

According to *Vasiṣtha,* there were three wives for the Brāhmaṇa, two for the Kṣatriya, one each for the Vaiśya and the Śūdra.[1]

Baudhāyana held that for the *Brāhmaṇa* there are four wives, in the order of the castes ; for the Kṣatriya, there are three ; for the Vaiśya, two ; for the Śūdra, one.[2]

According to *Yajñavalkya* also, there are three wives for the Brāhmaṇa, two for the Kṣatriya and for the Vaiśya ; for the Śūdra,[3] there is only one.

In the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra,* we find a large number of following references on the subject which indicate that the general practice was to have only one wife and bigamy was an exception to the rule.

1. A student shall behave towards his teacher's *wife* as towards the teacher himself. (1.2.7.27)[4]

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1. तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्वेण, द्वे राजन्यस्य ॥२४॥
   एकैका वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥२५॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १।२४-२५
2. तेषां वर्णानुपूर्व्येण चतुस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य ॥२॥ तिस्रो राजन्यस्य ॥३॥
   द्वे वैश्यस्य ॥४॥ एका शूद्रस्य ॥५॥
3. तिस्रो वर्णानुपूर्व्येण द्वे तथैका यथा क्रमम् ।
   ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिय विशां भार्या स्वा शूद्र जन्मनः ॥ याज्ञ० १।५७
4. अन्यत्र·····आचार्यवदाचार्यदारे वृत्तिः ॥
   आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।२।७।२७

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2. Some declare that he shall salute in this manner even his mother and the *wife* of his teacher. (1.4.14.24)[1]

3. Some teachers declare that one does not fall by having connection with any other married female except his teacher's *wife*. (1.7.21.10)[2]

4. He who has had connection with a Guru's *wife* shall cut off his organ together with the testicles..... (1.9.25.1)[3]

5. .....had connection with a Guru's *wife*..... (1.9.25.10)[4]

6. .....his teacher's *wife*. (1.9.26.11)[5]

7. Nor shall he teach sitting on that couch on which he lies at night with his *wife*. (1.11.32.4)[6]

8. At night he shall always adorn himself for his *wife*. (1.11.32.6)[7]

9. And both the householder and his *wife* shall fast on the days of the new and full moon. (2.1.1.4)[8]

10. The water-vessels in the house shall never be empty; that is the duty to be observed by the householder and his *wife*. (2.1.1.15)[9]

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1. मातरमाचार्यदारं चेत्येके ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।४।१४।२४
2. नागुरुतल्पे पततीत्येके ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।७।२१।१०
3. गुरुतल्प गामी सवृषणं शिश्नं ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।९।२५।१
4. स्तेयं कृत्वा···गुरुदारं च गत्वा···॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।९।२५।१०
5. संवत्सरम् ·····आचार्यदोर····· ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।९।२६।११
6. न च···अध्यापयेद् यस्यां शयीत् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।११।३२।४
7. सदा निशायां दारं प्रत्यलंकुर्वीत ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।११।३२।६
8. पर्वसु चोभयोरुपवासः ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१।१।४
9. नित्यमुद·····स्युर्गृहमेधिनो व्रतम् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१।१।१५

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11. Let him not have connubial intercourse with his *wife* in the day time. (2.1.1.16)[1]

12. But let him have connection with his *wife* at the proper time. (2.1.1.17)[2]

13. .....if his *wife* desires.....(2.1.1.18).[3]

14. .....the husband and his *wife*.....(2.2.3.12).[4]

15. The master of the house and his *wife* shall not refuse a man who asks for food.....(2.2.4.13).[5]

16. At his pleasure, he may stint himself, his *wife* or his children. (2.4.9.11)[6]

17. If he has a *wife* who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties and who bears sons, *he shall not take a second.* If a wife is deficient, in one of these two qualities, *he shall take another.* (2.5.11.12-13)[7]

18. A husband shall not make over his *wife*.....(2.10.27.2).[8]

19. If the marriage vow is transgressed, both *husband and wife* certainly go to hell. (2.10.27.6)[9]

20. Both *the wife and the husband* have power over their common property. (2.11.29.3)[10]

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1. अहन्यसंवेशनम् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१।१।१६
2. ऋतौ च संनिपातो दारेणानुव्रतम् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१।१।१७
3. अन्तरालेऽपि दार एव ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१।१।१८
4. गृहमेधिनोर्यदशनीयस्य ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।२।३।१२
5. काले स्वामिनावन्नार्थिनं न प्रत्याचक्षीयाताम् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।२।४।१३
6. काममात्मानं भार्यां पुत्रं..... ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।४।९।११
7. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्या कुर्वीत ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।११।१२
   अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्राग्..... ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।११।१३
8. सगोत्रस्थानीयां न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत् ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१०।२७।२
9. तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरकः ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।१०।२७।६
10. कुटुम्बिनौ धनस्येशाते ॥ आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।११।२९।३

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21. I shall not now allow any longer *my wives* to be approached by other men. (2.6.13.6). Leaving aside the last reference, we find in all the above Sūtras *only one wife* to marry.[1]

According to *Vaikhānasa,* one should sleep with his wife. One should have intercourse with one's own wife. .....with one's wife. One should not have sexual intercourse with others' wives.[2]

According to *Manu* that family man is also like a brahmacārī who is satisfied with *his wife only.*[3]

At the time of Kālidasa, like Daśaratha of Rāmāyaṇa the number of wives was more than one.[4]

The following tabular statement will give a comparative idea as to the number of wives permitted to members of different castes.

Number of wives permitted by the Dharma Sūtras

	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	Śūdra
1. Gautama	More than one and any number of wives			
2. Vasiṣṭha	3	2	1	1
3. Baudhāyana	4	3	2	1
4. Āpastamba	1	1	1	1
5. Vaikhānasa	1	1	1	1
6. Yajñavalkya	3	2	1	1
7. Manu	1	1	1	1
8. Ṛgveda	1	1	1	1

1. इदानीमेवाहं जनक स्त्रीणामीर्ष्यामि नो पुरा।
तस्माद् भार्यां रक्षन्ति·····। जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति···।
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।६।१३।६

2. सायं च·····पत्न्या शयीत् ॥३॥
ऋतु रात्रिषु स्वभार्यामुपगच्छेत् ॥५॥
परदारान् न सङ्गच्छेत्····· ॥७॥ वैखानस ध०सू० ३।१।३, ५, ७

3. ·····स्वदारनिरतः सदा। मनु० ३।४५
ब्रह्मचार्य्येव भवति····· ॥ मनु० ३।५०

4. कण्वः—शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रिय सखी वृत्तिं सपत्नी जने।
अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तले

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There are a number of passages in Ṛgveda in which the word *Jāyā* or wife has been invariably used in singular number, an indication which certainly goes to corroborate the inference that monogamy was the general practice. Rev. K. S. MacDonald observes in Vedic Religion (p. 157) :—

"In Vedic times we have every reason to believe that our Āryan fore-fathers generally practised monogamy or marriage in its true primal conception and intention as instituted in paradise as the permanent union of one woman to one man. The very words *Dampati* and *Jāyāpati* occurring so often in the Vedic literature prove that the fundamental conception of marriage was monogamous and not polygamous. Marriage ties were held very sacred and indissoluble. "If the marriage vow," says Āpastamba, "is transgressed, both husband and wife certainly go to hell." As for a faithless husband his verdict is that, "He who has forsaken his spouse shall put an ass's skin with the hair turned outside and beg in seven houses saying, "Give alms to him who forsook his wife." That shall be his livelihood for six months. "He who has had any connection with another's wife shall be deprived of his offending parts or shall die embracing a red-hot metal image of a woman."

I will never leave that man as long as he is alive, to whom my father has given me in marriage.[1] Husband, alone, is the shelter of a wife as long as she lives. She should not have another husband, even if he is dead or alive.[2] Neither father nor mother, nor son, nor her soul, nor her she-friends are the real shelter of a wife, in life or

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1. यस्मै मां पिता अदात् नैवाहं तं जीवन्तं हास्यामि। शतपथ ब्रा०
2. (i) एक एव पतिर्नार्याः यावज्जीवं परायणम्।
मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन् नापरं प्राप्नुयात् पतिम्॥
(ii) भर्तृ नाथा हि नार्यः।
प्रतिमा नाटकम् १.१६

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after death. Husband alone is her shelter.[1] Girl is given only once to a husband.[2]

Insistance on the interests of the family led to a compromise of the monogamous ideal. While the monogamous ideal is held up as the best, polygamy was also tolerated. When you have no male offspring, or when, by mistake or chance, you seduce a woman ; when you are married, it is your duty to protect her from desertion and from public scorn, save her from a life of infamy and degradation, and protect her children who are in no way responsible for the ways of their parents ; polygamy was permissible. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa has for one of its chief lessons the evils of polygamy. The palace of Daśaratha was a centre of intrigue, and Rāma, the hero of the story, stands up for the monogamous ideal.[3]

Re-marriage

According to *Ṛgveda*,[4] and *Atharva veda*, *Manu*,[5]

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1. न पिता नात्मजो नात्मा न माता न सखी जनः ।
इह प्रेत्य च नारीणां पतिरेको गतिः सदा ॥ रामायणे

2. सकृत् कन्या प्रदीयते ।

3. यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां शूद्राद् दारोपसङ्ग्रहः ।
नैतन्मम मतं यस्मात् तत्राऽस्माज्जायते स्वयम् ॥ याज्ञ० १।५६
इमां त्वमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कृणु ।
दशास्यां पुत्रानाधेहि पतिमेकादशं कृधि ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४५

4. उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि । ऋ० १०।१८।८
अ० १८।३।२-३
अ० ९।५।२७-२८
आश्वलायन ४।२।१८; अग्निपुराणे १५३

5. सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्याद् गतप्रत्यागतापि वा ।
पौनर्भवेन भर्त्रा सा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ मनु० ९।१७६
तामनेन विधानेन निजो विन्देत देवर । मनु० ९।६९

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Vasiṣtha,[1] *Baudhāyana*,[2] *Kautilya*,[3] *Nārada* and *Parāśara*[4] re-marriage is allowed as is evident from the following references :—

"O widow, give up the hope of the dead husband and choose for thyself a man from among the living."

A woman or a man whose marriage has been performed merely upto ritualistic extent and no consummation has yet taken place, can re-marry another man or woman.

If there be a virgin widow, she can be married to the younger brother of the dead husband.

Niyoga

Gautama states that a woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may bear a son to her brother-in-law. She should obtain the permission of her *Gurus*, and have intercourse during the proper season only. On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring by cohabiting with a *Spiṇḍa*, a *Sagotra*, a *Samāna-pravara*, or one who belongs to the same caste. Some declare, that she should co-habit with nobody but a brother-in-law. She should not bear more than two sons. The child belongs to him who begot it, except if an agreement to the contrary has been made, and the child begotten at a living husband's request on his wife belongs to the husband. But if it was begotten by a stranger, it belongs to the latter, or to both the natural father and the husband of the mother, but being

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1. पाणिग्रहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता ।
सा चेदक्षत योनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।६६

2. निसृष्टायां हुते वाऽपि यस्यै भर्ता म्रियते सः
सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्याद् गतप्रत्यागता सती ॥१७॥
पौनर्भवेन विधिना पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥१८॥
बौधायन ध० सू० ४।१।१७-१८

3. अमोक्षो धर्म विवाहानाम् । कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्रे

4. नारद १२।९७-१०१; पराशर ४।२७

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reared by the husband it belongs to him. The widow may seek to raise up offspring to her deceased husband.[1]

Vasiṣṭha states that after the completion of six months from the death of her husband, she shall bathe, and offer a funeral oblation to the husband. Then her father and brother shall assemble the elders who taught or sacrificed[2] for her husband, as also his relatives and authorise her to raise issue to her deceased husband. One should not thus appoint a widow who is either mad or ill-behaved or diseased ; nor one who is very aged ; sixteen years after maturity is the period for authorising a widow. Nor shall such an authorisation be made if the male entitled to approach her is sickly. He shall approach the widow in the moment sacred to *Prajāpati*, behaving like a husband, without dallying with her, and without abusing or ill-treating her. She shall obtain the expenses for food, raiment, baths and ungents from the estate of her deceased husband. They declare that a son begotten on a widow not duly authorised belongs to the begetter ; if she has been duly authorised, the child belongs to both the males connected with the authorisation. No such authorisation shall be made for the purpose of obtaining a living. But some people declare that an authorisation may be made through desire for wealth, after an expiatory penance has been performed.

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1. अपतिरपत्यलिप्सु देवरात् ॥४॥ गुरु प्रसूतानर्तुमतीयात् ॥५॥ पिण्ड-गोत्रर्षिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥६॥ योनिमात्राद्वा ॥७॥ नादेवरादित्येके ॥८॥ नातिद्वितीयं जनयितुरपत्यम् ॥९॥ समयादन्यस्य ॥१०॥ जीवतश्च क्षेत्रे ॥११॥ परस्मात्तस्य ॥१२॥ द्वयोर्वा ॥१३॥ रक्षणात्तु भर्तुरेव ॥१४॥ बीजं वा लिप्सेत ॥२३॥ गौतम ध० सू० १८।४-१४; २८-२३

2. प्रेतपत्नी षण्मासान्व्रत चारिण्यक्षार लवणं भुञ्जानाऽधः शयीत ।
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।४९

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There is a difference of opinion.[1] Some say the son belongs to the husband of the mother and others say he belongs to the begetter. With respect to this they quote verses on both sides, like the following :—

"If one man's bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows ; in vain would the bull have spent his strength."

"Carefully watch the procreation of your offspring lest strangers sow seed on your soil ; in the next world, the son belongs to the begetter ; by carelessness, a husband makes his offspring futile for himself." The wife of an emigrant shall wait for five years. After five years have passed, she may go out to seek her husband. If, for reasons connected with spiritual or pecuniary matters, she be unwilling to leave her home, she must behave in the same manner as if her husband were dead. In this manner a *Brāhmaṇa* woman with issue shall wait for five years, and one having no issue, four years ; a *Kṣatriya* woman with issue, five years, and one without issue, three years ; a *Vaiśya* woman with issue, five years, and one without, two years ;[2] a *Śūdra* woman with issue, three years and one

1. ऊर्ध्वं षड्भ्यो मासेभ्यः स्नात्वा श्राद्धं च पत्ये दत्वा विद्याकर्मगुरुयोनि सम्बन्धान् संनिपात्य पिता भ्राता वा नियोगं कारयेत्तपसे ॥४९॥
न सोन्मत्तामवशां व्याधितां वा नियुञ्ज्यात् ॥५०॥
ज्यायसीमपि षोडश वर्षाणि, न चेदामयावी स्यात् ॥५१॥
प्राजापत्ये मुहूर्ते पाणिग्राह वदुपचरेत् ॥५२॥
अन्यत्र संप्रहास्य वाक्पारुष्य दण्डपारुष्याच्च ॥५३॥
प्रासाच्छादनस्नानानुलेपनेषु प्राग्गामिनी स्यात् ॥५४॥
अनियुक्तायामुत्पन्न उत्पादयितुः पुत्रो भवतीत्याहुः ॥५५॥
स्याच्चेत्रियोगिनो रिक्थम् ॥५६॥
लोमान्नास्ति नियोगः ॥५७॥
प्रायश्चित्तं वा ऽप्यपदिश्य नियुञ्ज्यादित्येके ॥५८॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।४९-५८

2. क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रो जनयितुः पुत्र इति विवदन्ते ॥६॥
तत्रोभयथाऽप्युदाहरन्ति ॥७॥
यद्यन्यो गोषु वृषभो वत्सानां जनयेच्छतम् गोभिनामेव
ते वत्सा मोघं स्यन्दितमार्षभम्, इति ॥८॥

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without issue, one year. After that, she shall live among those who are united with her husband, in interest, or by birth, or by the funeral cake, or by water-libations, or by descent from the same family,—each earlier named person being more venerable than the following one. But while any member of the family is living, she shall never go to a stranger.[1]

Baudhāyana states that after the expiry of six months from her husband's death, she may, with the authority of her elders, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son. They quote the following :—"A barren woman or one who has already borne sons, or one who is past child-bearing, or one whose children are all dead, or one who is unwilling, must never be authorised or appointed to do this."[2]

In the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, a *Brāhmaṇa* says—"The son belongs to the begetter." Now they quote also the following Gāthā from the Veda, "Having considered myself formerly[3] a father, I shall not now allow any longer

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अप्रमत्ता रक्षत तन्तुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे पर (रे) बीजानि अवाप्सुः ।
न जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति स्वं (सं) पराये मोघं वेत्ता कुरुते तन्तुमेतमिति ॥६॥
यावच्च कन्यामृतवः स्पृशन्ति तुल्यैः सकामामभियाच्यमानाम् ।
भ्रूणानि तावन्ति हतानि ताभ्यां माता-पितृभ्यामिति धर्मवादः ॥६३॥
एवं ब्राह्मणो पञ्च प्रजाता ऽ प्रजाता चत्वारि,
राजन्या प्रजाता पञ्चाप्रजाता त्रीणि,
वैश्या प्रजाता चत्वार्यं प्रजाता द्वे,
शूद्रा प्रजाता त्रीण्यप्रजातैकम् ॥६६॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।६-६, ६३]

1. अत ऊर्ध्वं समानोदक पिण्ड जन्मर्षिगोत्राणां पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् ॥७०॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १७।७०

2. षण्मासानिति मौद्गल्यः ॥६७॥
अत ऊर्ध्वं गुरुभिरनुमता देवराज्जनयेत् पुत्रमपुत्रा ॥६८॥
अथापि उदाहरन्ति ॥६६॥
वशाचोत्पन्नपुत्रा च नीरजस्का गतप्रजा ।
नाकामा संनियोज्या स्यात् फलं यस्यां न विद्यते इति ॥७०॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।२।६७-७०

3. उत्पादयितुः पुत्रः इति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥५॥ अथाप्युदाहरन्ति ।
आप० ध० सू० २।६।१३।५

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my wives to be approached by other men, since they have declared that a son belongs to the begetter in the world of *Yama*. The giver ot the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world ; therefore, they guard their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over the procreation of your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an imprudent husband makes the begetting of children vain for himself."

A husband shall not make over his wife, who occupies the position of a '*gentilis*', to others than to his '*gentiles*,' in order to cause children to be begot for himself. For they declare, that a bride is given to the family of her husband and not to the husband alone. That is at present forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses. The hand of a '*gentilis*' is considered in law to be that of a stranger, and so is that of any other person except the husband. If the marriage now is transgressed, both husband and wife certainly go to hell.[1] The reward in the next world resulting from obeying the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner by means of *Niyoga*.

Yajñavalkya holds that a virgin (maiden) or one who has been known by a man, when purified again after performing

1. इदानीमेवाहं जनक स्त्रीणामीर्ष्यामि नो पुरा ।
यदा यमस्य सादने जनयितुः पुत्रमब्रुवन् ॥
रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने ।
तस्माद् भार्या रक्षन्ति बिभ्यन्तः पररेतसः ॥
अप्रमत्ता रक्षथ तन्तुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजानि वाप्सुः ।
जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति सांपराये मोघं वेत्ता कुरुते तन्तुमेतमिति ॥६॥
दृष्टो धर्म व्यतिक्रमः साहसं च पूर्वेषाम् ॥७॥
सगोत्रस्थानीयां न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत ॥२॥
कुलाय हि स्त्री प्रदीयत इत्युपदिशन्ति ॥३॥
तदिन्द्रियदौर्बल्याद् विप्रतिपन्नम् ॥४॥
अविशिष्टें हि परत्वं पाणेः ॥५॥
तदव्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयो र्नरकः ॥६॥
आप० ध० सू० २।६।१३।५-७; आप० ध० सू० २।१०।२७।२-६

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the purificatory rites, is called "born again" (punarbhū). She, who having left her husband, seeks one of her own caste out of lust, is called *Svairiṇī* (an unchaste woman). A younger brother of a woman's husband in his absence, a *Spiṇḍa* (a kinsman connected by the offering of the funeral rice-ball to the manes), in his absence, one of the same family (*sagotra*), for begetting a son, can, with the permission of her elders, having his body rubbed with clarified butter, know a woman, who has not given birth to a son, in her season, one after another, till she conceives. Otherwise, (*i.e.* if he knows her at any other time) he will be condemned. A son, born of this procedure, will be called *Kṣetraja*[1].

According to *Manu*, on failure of issue, the woman, on being '*authorised*' may obtain, in the proper manner, the desired offspring, either from her younger brother-in-law or from a *Spiṇḍa*. He who has been authorised in regard to a widow shall be annointed with clarified butter and with speech controlled, beget, at night, one son and on no account a second one. Some people, learned in the subject, admit, on the basis of propriety, of a second procreation on women, perceiving, as they do, that the couple's purpose of '*authorisation*' is not (otherwise) accomplished. But when the purpose of the '*authorisation*' in regard to the widow has been duly accomplished, the two should behave towards each other like (an elder and like a daughter-in-law). If the two persons thus '*authorised*' renounce the law and act from carnal desire, both would become outcasts,—

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1. अक्षता वा क्षता चैव पुनर्भूः संस्कृता पुनः ।
स्वैरिणी या पतिं हित्वा सवर्णं कामतः श्रयेत् ॥६७॥
अपुत्रां गुर्वनुज्ञातो देवरः पुत्रकाम्यया ।
सपिण्डो वा सगोत्रो वा घृताभ्यक्त ऋतावियात् ॥६८॥
आगर्भसम्भवात् गच्छेत् पतितस्त्वन्यथा भवेत् ।
अनेन विधिना जातः क्षेत्रजः स भवेत् सुतः ॥६९॥

याज्ञ० १।६७-६९

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being like one who has intercourse with his daughter-in-law and one who defiles the bed of his elder.[1]

The male child of an '*authorised*' woman, if not begotten in the prescribed manner, is not entitled to the paternal property as he is procreated by outcasts. The son born of the '*authorised*' woman shall inherit, like the '*legitimate*' son, as legally that seed is of the owner of the soil and the offspring belongs to him. He who protects the wife and property of his dead brother shall beget a child for that brother and give his property to that child. If a woman, without being '*authorised*', bears a son either to her brother-in-law or to some other person, that son they declare to be '*lust-born*', '*incapable of inheritance*', and '*born invain*'. In the case of a man dying childless, if an issue is raised from a member of the same family, all the property that there may be shall be delivered to that child.[2]

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1. देवराद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रिया सम्यङ् नियुक्तया ।
प्रजेप्सिताधिगन्तव्या सन्तानस्य परिक्षये ॥५९॥
विधवायां नियुक्तस्तु घृताक्तो वाग्यतो निशि ।
एकमुत्पादयेत् पुत्रं न द्वितीयं कथञ्चन ॥६०॥
द्वितीयमेके प्रजनं मन्यन्ते स्त्रीषु तद्विदः ।
अनिर्वृत्तं नियोगार्थं पश्यन्तो धर्मतस्तयोः ॥६१॥
विधवायां नियोगार्थे निवृत्तेतु यथाविधि ।
गुरुवच्च स्नुषावच्च वर्तेयातां परस्परम् ॥६२॥
नियुक्तौ यौ विधिं हित्वा वर्तेयातां तु कामतः ।
तावुभौ पतितौ स्यातां स्नुषागु गुरु-तल्पगौ ॥६३॥ मनु० ९।५९-६३

2. नियुक्तायामपि पुमान्नार्याञ्जातो ऽविधानतः ।
नैवार्हः पैतृकं रिक्थं पतितोत्पादितो हि सः ॥१४४॥
हरेत्तत्र नियुक्तायां जातः पुत्रो यथौरसः ।
क्षेत्रिकस्य तु तद् बीजं धर्मतः प्रसवश्च सः ॥१४५॥

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Authorities of the Vedas

"O man and woman, just as a widow cohabits with her second husband (*Devara*) and a married wife with her husband and produces children, similarly where did you both pass your night and where your day ? Where did you get the necessaries of your life ? Where did you live and when ? Which is your place of rest ? To what places do you belong ? This shows that man and wife should live together at home or abroad ; and a widow may also be allowed, to procreate with a *Niyoga*-joined husband as a wife with a married husband."[1]

"*Devara*" is the name of the widow's secondary husband.[2]

"O widow, give up the hope of the dead husband and choose for thyself a man from among the living. But remember that if the '*niyoga*' is done for the sake of the secondary husband who grasps thy hand, then the children will belong to that man. And if the '*niyoga*' is done for thy sake, then the children will be thine. Let this be made clear. And the '*niyoga*-joined husband should also abide by this agreement.'"[3]

Continued from previous page]

धनं योविभृयाद् भ्रातुर्मृतस्य स्त्रियमेव च ।
सोऽपत्यं भ्रातुरुत्पाद्य दद्यात्तस्यैव तद् धनम् ॥१४६॥
याऽनियुक्ताऽन्यतः पुत्रं देवराद्वाऽप्यवाप्नुयात् ।
तं कामजरिक्थीयं मिथ्योत्पन्नं प्रचक्षते ॥१४७॥
संस्थितस्यानपत्यस्य सगोत्रात्पुत्रमाहरेत् ।
तत्र यद्रिक्थजातं स्यात् तत्तस्मिन् प्रतिपादयेत् ॥१६०॥

मनु० ६।१४४-१४७, १६०

1. कुहस्विद्दोषा कुह वस्तोरश्विना कुहभिपित्वं करतः कुहोषतुः ।
को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ ॥
ऋ० १०।४०।२
2. देवरः कस्माद् द्वितीयो वर उच्यते ॥ निरुक्त ३।१५
3. उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष एहि ।
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि संबभूथ ॥ ऋ०१०।१८।८

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"O woman, be thou non-violent to the husband and to the *'devara'* ; be a benefactress to the domestic cattle, be an abider of the rules of righteousness, be winsome and educated, be the bearer of brave sons and grand sons, be a lover of *devara*, be a happiness-giver to thy husband or *devara* and always perform this family *agnihotra* according to the injunctions laid down."[1]

"O woman, thy first *i.e.* married husband is called *soma* on account of the softness of his disposition, and the *niyoga*-joined is called *Gandharva*, on account of his previous intercourse with another woman ; thy third husband is called *agni* on account of his excessive heat (fiery passion), and the rest from the fourth up to the eleventh are called men.[2]

If the husband be incapable of begetting children, he should permit his wife in these words :—

"O luck-desiring, thou, seek mate other than myself as now I am unfit to beget children." On this, the woman may enter into *niyoga* and bear children ; but she should all along remain in the service of her married husband. Also, thus, "O my husband, now give up the expectation of issues from me and beget children in some widow by the rites of *niyoga*."[3]

Right of Inheritance

The Hindu Śāstras have recognized woman's right to hold property as incontestable. She is full owner of her *Stridhana i.e.* the property acquired by her own effort or received by her as gifts from her parents or her husband. The widow succeeds to the whole of her

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1. अदेवृध्न्यपतिघ्नीहैधि शिवा पशुभ्यः सुयमाः सुवर्चाः ।
प्रजावती वीरसूर्देवृकामा स्योनेममग्निं गार्हपत्यं सपर्य ॥
अथर्व० १४।२।१८

2. सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।
तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४०

3. अन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत् ॥ ऋ० १०।१०।१०

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husband's property in the absence of sons. For obvious reasons she takes only life interest in it in the presence of collaterals of her husband but has full authority over the *usufruct* and can spend it any way she likes. In the presence of sons she is entitled to maintenance and on partition to an equal share with the sons. The underlying principle in the Hindu idea of property[1] was that it is mortgaged to the line of ancestors, and rights are proportioned to the distance of a claimant from the ancestors and his capacity to offer the manes *piṇḍa* and water. An unmarried girl has a claim on the family estate for her marriage expenses only. A married woman, inheriting in both the parental and husband's family, will have an advantage over her brothers, without their religious competence to do the ancestral rites.

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1. निरिन्द्रिया ह्यदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्रुतिः ॥ बौ० ध० सू० २।३।५३

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CHAPTER II

THE VARṆĀŚRAMA SYSTEM

The social structure in ancient India was based on scientific principles. It was a wise and statesman-like classification which procured a general distribution of wealth, expelled misery and want from the country, promoted mental and moral progress, ensured material efficiency and, above all, made peace and tranquility compatible with advancement.

This classification was called the Varṇāśrama System.[1]

(A) *The Varṇas*

In the Yajurveda Saṁhitā, we find the following four classes :—

(1) The *Brāhmaṇas*—who devoted themselves to learning and acquiring wisdom and following the liberal arts and sciences.

(2) The *Kṣatriyas*—who devoted themselves to the theory and practice of war and to whom the executive government of the people was entrusted.

(3) *Vaiśyas*—who devoted themselves to trade and professions.

(4) *Śūdras* (men of low capacities)—who served and helped the other three classes.[2]

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1. *Vide* Education in Ancient India pp. 1-10.
2. (i) ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणं क्षत्राय राजन्यं मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यं तपसे शूद्रम् ।
यजु० ३७।५.

(ii) ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत् ॥
ऋग्० १०।९०।१२; यजु० ३१।११

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(B) *The Āśramas*

The individual and the social sides of Karma are inseparably intertwined. The Theory of Varṇa or caste emphasises the social aspect, while that of Āśrama or the stages of life is concerned with a person's individual aspect. These four stages are (i) *Brahmacarya* or the period of learning (ii) *Gṛhasthāśrama* or the period of work for the world as a householder, (iii) *Vānaprasthāśrama* or the period of retreat for the loosening of the social bonds, and (iv) *Saṁnyāsa* or the period of renunciation and expectant awaiting of freedom.

After having read all the four Vedas, two Vedas or at least one Veda, and without breaking the vow of celebacy, one should enter into the Gṛhasthāśrama.[1]

The conception of four Āśramas is based on the supposition of the span of life to be hundred years.[2]

Joint Family System

Family is a starting unit of the Vedic sociology. It forms a link between the individual and the society. Regarding the duties of the members of a family, we read in the Vedas as follows :—

(i) *Ṛgveda* says—

"O ye mankind ! let all your activities lead to one common goal (for which) let there be a common language

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1. (i) वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वाऽपि यथा क्रमम् ।
अविप्लुत ब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रमभा विशेत् ॥ मनु० ३।२
(ii) ब्रह्मचर्याश्रमं समाप्य गृही भवेत्, गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत्,
वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत् । शत० का० १४
(iii) द्वितीयमायुषो भागं कृतदारो गृहे वसेत् ॥ मनु ४।१
2. (i) शतं जीव शरदो वर्धमानः शतं हेमन्ताञ्छतमु वसन्तान् ।
ऋ० १०।१६१।४; अथर्व० ३।११।४
(ii) पश्येम शरदः शतं, जीवेम शरदः शतम् । यजु० ३६।२४
(iii) शताय वै पुरुषः । शत० ब्रा०

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for all of you and let your mind be all of one accord, to acquire the knowledge of various sciences fully and like the enlightened seers who lived before you. You ought to worship me alone, who is the only real object of your devotion."[1]

"O ye mankind ! let the object of your thought be the same, the place of your assembly ought to be common, your mind should be of one accord and let your hearts be united together : I (God) initiate you in common inspired hymn and provide all of you with common objects for accepting and offering."[2]

"O ye mankind ! let your object of life be one and the same, let your hearts be equal (in feeling) and let your minds be united together so that there may be an excellent common status of life for all."[3]

"Let all these men who are brothers (to one another) advance forward unitedly for the attainment of prosperity for there being none high and none low (amongst them). God is their father. Let the earth, pouring fourth abundant milk (etc.), bring auspicious days for the living creatures."[4]

(ii) In the *Atharva-veda* the injunction is—

"O ye mankind ! I ordain for you to have concordance in your heart, unanimity in your minds and freedom from hatred in your dealings. Every one of you ought to love one another in every way just as the inviolable cow loveth the

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1. सङ्गच्छध्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।
देवा भागं यथा पूर्वे सञ्जानाना उपासते ॥ ऋ० १०।१९१।२

2. समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सह चित्तमेषाम् ।
समानं मन्त्रमभि मन्त्रये वः समानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ॥
ऋ० १०।१९१।३

3. समानी व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः ससहासति ॥ ऋ० १०।१९१।४

4. अज्येष्ठासो अकनिष्ठास एते, सं भ्रातरो वावृधुः सौभगाय ।
युवा पिता स्वपा रुद्र एषां, सुदुघा पृश्निः सुदिना मरुद्भ्यः ॥
ऋ० ५।६०।५

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calf which she hath born."[1]

"Let the son be obedient to his father and in accordance with the mind of his mother. Let the wife speak to her husband calm, gentle and sweet words as honey."[2]

"Neither a brother should hate his brother nor a sister should be unkind to her sister, you ought to speak with another most gently being united in your mind and keeping the same ideal before you."[3]

"O ye mankind ! who are respectable towards the elders possessing noble hearts, friendly in your undertakings of acquiring wealth and walking in the same path bearing the common yoke together, be never dis-united with one another, come, I make you single-intentioned and single-minded. Let each one of you speak sweetly to the other."[4]

"Let your place of drinking water be common and let the partaking of your food be together as I join you to a common yoke ; all of you worship Agni-God together as the spokes are attached to the nave of the chariot from all around."[5]

"O ye mankind ! I (God) enjoin on all of you to be mutually helpful to one another, to be united in your mind and to have common ideal of life for benefitting one another ; like the enlightened persons who ever take care

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1. सहृदयं सांमनस्यमविद्वेषं कृणोमि वः ।
अन्यो अन्यमभिहर्यत वत्सं जातमिवाघ्न्या ॥ अथर्व० ३।३०।१
2. अनुव्रतः पितुः पुत्रो मात्रा भवतु संमनाः ।
जाया पत्ये मधुमतीं वाचं वदतु शान्तिवाम् ॥ अथर्व० ३।३०।२
3. मा भ्राता भ्रातरं द्विक्षन् मा स्वसारमुत स्वसा ।
सम्यञ्चः सव्रता भूत्वा वाचं वदत भद्रया ॥ अथर्व० ३।३०।३
4. ज्यायस्वन्तश्चित्तिनो मा वियौष्ट संशधयन्तः सधुराश्चरन्तः ।
अन्यो अन्यस्मै वल्गु वदन्तः एते सध्रीचीनान् वः संमनसस् कृणोमि ॥
अथर्व० ३।३०।५
5. समानी प्रपा सह वो ऽन्नभागाः समाने योक्त्रे सह वो युनज्मि ।
सम्यञ्चोऽग्निं सपर्यतार नाभिमिवाभितः ॥
अथर्व० ३।३०।६

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of the immortal principal (in their life) may the friendly feelings amongst you increase morning and evening."[1]

(iii) The *Yajurveda* says :—

O learned persons ! just as ye, mastering that fire, engaged in the performance of virtuous vedic deeds, residing in a beautiful knowable, pleasant place, built scientifically, attain the happiness with your wives, sons, brothers, other relatives and with gold, so may we, also, be happy in all these respects.[2] May I look upon all beings with a friend's eye.[3]

A child just born finds himself placed in the midst of loving persons, mother, father, brothers and sisters, all bestowing what they can upon the tiny new-comer. He is the centre of all interests. All the members are the spokes, as it were, of the family wheel. Family is the beginning of human life. There is no better substitute for it. The society itself begins with the family. Now, the question is, how does a family begin ? Marriage of a man and a woman makes the family. Without marriage, there can be no family. In Sanskrita, it is called *vivāha* or special bond. There is no bond stronger or sociologically more important than the bond with which the husband and the wife are united together.

The husband and the wife are, so to speak, two horses tied round the same yoke.[4] There should be perfect harmony between them. They have to march together,

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1. सध्रीचीनान् वः संमनसस्कृणोम्येकश्नुष्टीन्त्संवननेन सर्वान् ।
देवा इवामृतं रक्षमाणाः सायं प्रातः सौमनसो वो अस्तु ॥
अथर्व० ३।३०।७

2. तं पत्नीभिरनु गच्छेम देवाः पुत्रै भ्रातृभिरुत वा हिरण्यैः ।
नाकं गृभ्णानाः सुकृतस्य लोके तृतीये पृष्टेऽधि रोचने दिवः ॥
यजु० १५।५०

3. मित्रस्याहं चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे ।
यजु०·३६।१८

4. समाने योक्त्रे सह वो युनज्मि ।

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step by step, tied by that invisible rope of conjugal love, than which nothing is stronger.

(iv) The *Ṛgveda* says :—

"O bride and bridegroom ! you two stay here. Never be disunited (*i.e.* be faithful, never think of any other man or woman). Enjoy the full span of life. Play with children and grand-children. Be happy in your home.[1]

Pāṇini considered the family to be the fundamental unit or nucleus of society in ancient India. Society was an aggregate of families, each comprising several members under the headship of the father, or in his absence the eldest brother, and as far as possible, partaking of a common household. "*Pāṇini*" calls family a "*kula*"[2] (iv. 1. 139 ; iv. 2.96). The word *kulīna* (of emiment family) (Pāṇ. iv. 1.139), indicated high descent. The epithet *mahākula*[3] was indicative of a still higher family status. *Manu*[4] points out that a "*kula*" could be improved in its status by the following factors :—

(1) Marriage, (2) study of the Vedas and (3) performance of Vedic rites (iii. 66; 184-186), and Mahābhārata

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1. इहैव स्तं मा वियौष्टं विश्वमायु र्व्यश्नुतम् ।
क्रीडन्तौ पुत्रै र्नप्तृभि र्मोदमानौ स्वगृहे ॥ ऋ० १०।८४।५२
2. कुलात् खः । पा० ४।१।१३९
3. महा कुलाद्……। पा० ४।१।१४१
4. मन्त्रतस्तु समृद्धानि कुलान्यल्प धनान्यपि ।
कुलसंख्याञ्च गच्छन्ति कर्षन्ति च महद्यशः ॥६६॥
अग्र्याः सवषु वेदेषु सर्वप्रवचनेषु च ।
श्रेत्रियान्वयजाश्चैव विज्ञेयाः पङ्क्ति पावनाः ॥१८४॥
त्रिणाचिकेतः पंचाग्निस्त्रिसुपर्णः षडङ्ग वित् ।
ब्रह्मदेयात्मसन्तानो ज्येष्ठ सामग एव च ॥१८५॥
वेदार्थवित् प्रवक्ता च ब्रह्मचारी सहस्रदः ।
शतायुश्चैव विज्ञेया ब्राह्मणाः पंक्तिपावनाः ॥१८६॥
मनु० ३।६६, १८४-१८६

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adds *tapa*, *dama*, *annadāna* and *samyag vritta* (Udyoga p. 36. 23-29). A family relationship consisted of *Mātā*, *Pitā*, *Pitāmaha* ; *Pitrivya* (uncle) *Bhrātā*, *Sodarya* (uterine brother), *Jyāyān Bhrātā* ; *Śvasā* (sister), *Putra*, *Pautra*, *Pitri-śvasā* (father's sister), *Paitriśvaseya* (her son), *Mātri-śvasā* (mother's sister) and her son *Mātriśvaseya*, sister's son or *śvasrīya* ; brother's son or *Bhrātrivya* ; *Mātāmaha* (mother's father); *Mātula* (mother's brother) and *Mātulānī* (maternal uncle's wife).

Family Members

The members of the family for whose maintenance, comfort and convenience, the head of the family is responsible include, in addition to the wife and children as Kautilya[1] has specified, mother, father, minor brothers, unmarried sisters, widowed and helpless girls.

Joint Family System

The wives and children of the helpless brother and sisters and the servants are considered to be members of a joint family. The conditions of living in a joint family are four-fold. The members are required to live in the same abode or premises to partake of the food cooked in the same kitchen, to share the common property and to profess the same faith and religion. On behalf of the members, the head of the family accepts and despatches invitation, conducts law-suits and performs all other duties of a solicitor. He has to be obeyed by all the members and in return, he must be strictly impartial. His wife acts on his behalf in looking after the female members and household duties. The head of the family is also the owner of the family property. But the individual members can possess not only cattle, weapons and jewels, but even land. Each father forming the joint family has the right to distribute his goods among his children and land in

1. Kautilya's Artha Śāstra II. I. 48.

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particular may be distributed differently in successive generations. The benefits of living in a large family include the safety and security of all the members. For the good of a single member the whole family fights against an enemy, a disease or disability. The system of joint family indicates clearly the germs of the individual liberty under the sovereignty of the head of a State, which is the chief aim of the modern civilized form of government. The generous cultural condition of the mind is also clearly indicated by this system.

The Married Life and its Significance

(a) *Object of Marriage*

Out of the four[1] Āśramas, the first two Āśramas namely, Brahmacārin and Gṛhastha are the foundations of society. Without the married householder, society cannot be continued. The mendicant āśramas are dependent on it. They are said to spring from it. But the first āśrama is the basis of even the second. Lack of education and discipline are banned to the householder. The strength of the foundation depends upon the weight it will have to bear. The first āśrama is a preparation for all the rest ; it has to bear the full weight of the social edifice. The stringent discipline of the āśrama is due to this responsibility. The householder's life is an almost universal obligation. The physically unfit, idiots and defectives are alone barred from it. It is the beginning of 'worldly'[2] existence of economic

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1. चत्वार आश्रमा ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थ वानप्रस्थ परिव्राजिकाः ।
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ७।१

2. एषोदिता लोकयात्रा नित्यं स्त्रीपुंसयोः शुभा ।
प्रेत्येह च सुखोदर्कान् प्रजाधर्मान्निबोधत ॥२५॥
प्रजननार्थं महाभागाः पूजार्हा गृहदीप्तयः ।
स्त्रियः श्रियश्च गेहेषु न विशेषोऽस्ति कश्चन ॥२६॥

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and social life. Even the Creater is described as a householder (Kutumbin). It begins with most important Sanskāra in life, and all others only lead to it. He who marries does so not merely to satisfy his own sex urge but he performs a social duty, and obtains the means of discharging a cosmic obligation. To women, it is even a greater duty and opportunity. *Vivāha* is a woman's sacrament, as its name implies. A girl's marriage is, therefore, a parental and family duty. If it is neglected, she can discard her shyness and the rules of filial obedience, and herself choose a husband. The recognition of the less respectable forms of marriage, like the *Gāndharva*, the *Rākṣasa* and the *Paiśāca*, and their legalization after consummation, is due to this feeling. Being a sacrament, marriage has finality. Without a wife, a *dvija* is incomplete to do enjoined rites.

Moreover, the union of the sexes is not regarded as merely yielding to the urge of sex, but as a solemn act to be approached with a proper sense of responsibility for procreating.[1] Marriage is not intended for the mere pleasure springing from sex-union (*na maithunārtham vivāhaḥ*). It is designed for the continuance of the race, and for the procreation of offspring. The mutual attraction of the sexes is helpful in bringing them together in wedlock.

The point of importance to note is that the ideal Hindu form of marriage,—like all other civilized forms, is still a *parent-made alliance* but not wihout some consent from the bride. The myth of purchasing the bride under the

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Continued from previous page

उत्पादनमपत्यस्य जातस्य परिपालनम् ।
प्रत्यहं लोकयात्रायाः प्रत्यक्षं स्त्रीनिबन्धनम् ॥२७॥
अपत्यं धर्मकार्याणि शुश्रूषा रतिरुत्तमा ।
दाराधीनस्तथा स्वर्गः पितृणामात्मनश्च ह ॥२८॥ मनु० ९।२५-२८]

1. रतिपुत्रफला नारी । प्रजननार्थं क्रियते भार्या ।

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Ārṣa and the *Āsura* forms is entirely fictitious because the socalled purchase-money is returned to the bridegroom in the former case and to the bride in the latter.

Another point of interest to note is that even in the spiritual form the primary object of marriage is to *set up a domestic life*, to satisfy mutual sex instinct, to beget children, to provide facilities, comfort and convenience not only of the couple but also of all other members of the joint family.

The nuptial vows freely made by the husband and the wife and both expressed and implied promises to stick to each other, not as the master and the slave, *but as friends and equal partners* clearly indicate the high cultural value and the material benefits of Hindu marriage.

According to *Vaikhānasa*, a good son saves one from terrible hells and making pure the ancestors, leads one to worlds of bliss. That, therefore, Brāhmaṇas and others should beget on wives of their own caste, a son in accordance with sacred precepts, so says Vaikhānas. If a vile son is born, one becomes a "*patita*", loses himself (*i.e.*, loses the heaven) and falls into terrible hells.[1]

(*b*) *The Three Natal Debts*

According to the ancient Indian scriptures, one owes a debt (i) to those from whom he derives physical frame (*i.e.*

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1. सत्पुत्रो नरकेभ्यस्त्रायकः पितॄन् पावयित्वा शुभाँल्लोकान् नयति ॥१३॥
ततो ब्राह्मणाद्याः सवर्णायां विधिवत् पुत्रमुत्पादयेयुरिति विखनाः ॥१४॥
तस्मान्निकृष्टे सुते समुत्पन्ने पतितो नष्टो घोरान् नरकान् व्रजति ॥१२॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१५।१३-१४, १२

Cf. पुदिति नरकस्याख्या दुःखं च नरकं विदुः ।
पुदि त्राणात् ततः पुत्रमिहेच्छन्ति परत्र च ॥
"तस्मात् पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुः" इति श्रुतेः ॥ व्यासः

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his ancestors), (ii) to the gods from whom he derives material prosperity, and also (iii) to the sages (ṛṣis)—the authors of the culture and knowledge, which are his spiritual heritage.

By marrying and begetting sons, he continues the line of the ancestors, and is deemed to have discharged his debt to them. It is expressed picturesquely as freeing the parents and ancestors from detention in the hell of *Put*. One who has no sons or expectation of male progeny, gets a fictitious son by adoption, in order to pay off the ancestral debt (Pitṛ-ṛṇa).

The gods send rains, with which the crops are nourished and food is obtained, and worldly goods, sacrifices and prayers propitiate the gods, and the former nourish them. By doing that, the debt to the gods (deva-ṛṇa) is cleared.

It is only in the second āśrama that all three[1] debts can be discharged. The vedic passages, which indicate the 'triple debt' lay the obligation on the first varṇa (Brāhmaṇa) alone, but Śabra (vi.2.31) interprets the mantras as meaning all "twice-born" (dvija), the word Brāhmaṇa being only illustrative.

(c) *The Married Life*

According to Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra, to the Brāhmaṇa, the stages of life are four, to the Kṣatriya, the first three, to the Vaiśya, the first two. Those who are in the four stages of life are the Brahmacārin (religious

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1. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभि र्ऋणवान् जायते। ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्रो यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी ॥ तै० सं० ६।३।१०।५

ऋणं ह वै जायते योऽस्ति। स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्य मनुष्येभ्यः ॥ शतपथ ब्रा० १।७।३।११

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student), the Gṛhastha (the householder), the Vānaprastha, (hermit) and the Bhikṣu (mendicant).[1]

According to Gautama Dharma Sūtra, the householder is the source of the other three orders of the student, the ascetic and the hermit.[2]

The second Āśrama or period of life covering the age from twenty-six to fifty years is known as Gārhasthya (householder's life). It commences with the marriage shortly after the home-return (samāvartana) after the completion of study. The young graduate marries according to his own choice. The four normal forms of marriage, satisfy the ideal and requirements of the bachelors of all inclinations which must have developed during the course of their study. Whichever form—spiritual (Brahma), divine (Daiva), sagely (Ārṣa) or human (Mānuṣa)—one chooses in getting a partner of his household life, he is required to perform jointly with his wife certain periodical social and public duties in addition to the private and personal duties towards husband and wife and towards the children.

The household married life is the best of all the four stages of life, because it gives support to the remaining three. It is the stage of life, which gives support to persons in other stages. The other stages of life of students' life, or of the retirement and of Sanyāsin or life of renunciation find their support from the householders.[3] This is the stage, where a man should do his duties with great responsibility.

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1. ब्राह्मणस्या श्रमाश्चत्वारः ॥१०॥ क्षत्रियस्याद्यास्त्रयः ॥११॥ वैश्यस्याद्यौ ॥१२॥ तदा श्रमिणश्चत्वारो ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो वानप्रस्थो भिक्षुरिति ॥१३॥ वैखानस ध० सू० १।१।१०-१३
2. तेषां गृहस्थो योनिरप्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् ॥ गौ० ध० सू० ३।३
3. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा।
   एते गृहस्थ प्रभवाश्चत्वारः पृथगाश्रमाः ॥८७॥

[*Continued on next page*

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Just as the rivulets and big rivers all find their halting place in the ocean, similarly, all the remaining stages of life find their stay in the householder's life. All the creatures subsist by receiving support from air, so all the orders of men exist by receiving support from householders. As the temporal order of the householders daily maintains the three orders—Educational, Hermitical and Spiritual, by making them gifts and lots of food and other necessaries, it is regarded the fundamental order and the main source of all. Therefore, he who 'longs for salvation' and worldly enjoyment should carefully observe its rules. Infirm and timid men are unable to fulfil the duties of this order.[1]

Family life is the life full of duties to be performed. Family life is blissful only when the Master and the Mistress of a house are content with each other, educated, energetic

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सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां वेदस्मृति विधानतः ।
गृहस्थ उच्यते श्रेष्ठः स त्रीनेतान् विभर्ति हि ॥८८॥
यथा नदीनदा सर्वे सागरे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ।
तथैवाश्रमिणः सर्वे गृहस्थे यान्ति संस्थिम् ॥९०॥
यथा वायु समाश्रित्य तर्तन्ते सर्व जन्तवः ।
तथा गृहस्थमाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्वाश्रमाः ॥७७॥
यस्मात् त्रयोप्याश्रमिणो ज्ञानेनान्नेन चान्वहम् ।
गृहस्थेनैव धार्यन्ते तस्माज्ज्येष्ठाश्रमो गृही ॥७८॥
मनु० ३।८७-८८; ६।९०, मनु० ३।७७-७८

यथाशक्ति चान्नेन सर्वभूतानि ॥१३॥
गृहस्थ एव यजते गृहस्थस्तप्यते तपः ।
चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां तु गृहस्थस्तु विशिष्यते ॥१४॥
यथा नदीनदाः सर्वे समुद्रे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ॥१५॥
यथा मातरमा श्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्तिः जन्तवः ।
एवं गृहस्थमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षवः ॥१६॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ८।१३-१६]

1. स सन्धार्यः प्रयत्नेन स्वर्गमक्षयमिच्छता ।
सुखं चेहेच्छता नित्यं योऽधार्यो दुर्बलेन्द्रियः ॥७९॥ मनु० ३।७९

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and well-up in all works of the house. Great love should exist between husband and wife. Husband and wife should live in perfect harmony and be ever faithful to one another.

Happiness, fortune and fame dwell in that family in which the wife is ever contented with the husband and vice versa.[1] Misery, poverty and reproach overtake that family in which discord and quarrel reign. Therefore, when a man and a woman wish to marry, they should ask as to the propriety of each other's qualifications in respect of knowledge, modesty, manners, beauty, age, vigour, family stature, and other merits. There is no happiness found in marriage so long as there is no harmony in the character of the marrying parties.

Like the cows not milked by anybody, let those perfectly youthful women, who have passed infancy, who are able to accomplish all domestic work in the best way possible, who have passed girlhood or immurity, who have attained perfect youth and acquired sound moral training who derive intellectual pleasure from the teachings of the great scriptures of wisdom written by eminent scholars noted for success in their vow of studentship and observance of its rules, undertake the responsibility of maternity.[2]

A woman should be very cheerful in temper, dexterous in the management of the house ; careful in doing all things in the house ; not too liberal in expenses and should keep the house clean and in order.[3]

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1. सन्तुष्टो भार्यया भर्ता भर्त्रा भार्या तथैव च ।
तस्मिन्नेव कुले नित्यं कल्याणं तत्र वै ध्रुवम् ॥६०॥ मनु० ३।६०

2. आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः शबर्दुघाः शशया अप्रदुग्धाः ।
नव्या नव्या युवतयो भवन्ती र्महद्देवानामसुरत्व मेकम् ॥
ऋग्० ३।५५।१६

3. सदा प्रहृष्टया भाव्यं गृहकार्येषु दक्षया ।
सुसंस्कृतोपस्करया व्यये चामुक्तहस्तया ॥ मनु० ५।१५०

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Marriage is a psychological factor, which is necessary for the physical welfare of men as well as women. The bodily appearance of married men and women always improves in consequence of their regular mode of life. Statistics prove that marriage has a beneficial influence on the duration of life and in many ways on the birth of offspring.

Gṛhastha is the best of all the āśramas, as it helps all of them.[1] Wife is the half portion of a man's body.[2] Wife is, undoubtedly, master of the whole property of the house.[3] Wife is the goddess of wealth at home.[4]

The wife is properly described as the husband's partner in all Dharma-affairs (*saha-dharma-cāriṇī*).[5] Marriage makes a man householder, but his gārhasthya is completed only on the birth of a son, which is spoken of as the redemption of the debt one owes to forefathers (pitṛ-ṛṇa). Marriage alone makes the full man and the full woman. Physical, mental and ritualistic fitness in both parties to a marriage, must be first seen to. The "seven-steps" (*sapta-padi*) complete a marriage, after which it is irrevocable.

The Hindu ideal emphasises fitness of the both parties in the marriage institution. Man is not a tyrant nor woman a slave, but both are servants of a higher ideal to which their individual inclinations are to be subordinated. Sensual love is sublimated into self-forgetful devotion.

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1. सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां वेद स्मृति विधानतः ।
   गृहस्थ उच्यते श्रेष्ठः स त्रीनेतानिवर्भति हि ॥ मनु० ६।८८
2. अर्धो वै एष आत्मनो, यत् पत्नी । महाभारते
3. पत्नी हि पारिणह्यस्य ईशे । तै० सं० ६।२।१
4. स्त्री वै एषा यत् श्रीः । शत० ११।४।३।२
5. *Cf.* Janaka's words to Śrī Rāma :
   इयं सीता मम सुता सहधर्मचरी तव ।
   प्रतीच्छ चैनां भद्रं ते पाणिं गृहणीष्व पाणिना ॥
   वाल० रामा० बाल० ७३।२६

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Marriage for the Hindu is a problem and not a datum. Instincts and passions are the raw material which are to be worked up into an ideal whole. Though there is some choice with regard to our mates, there is a large element of chance in the best of marriages. Carve as we will that mysterious block of which our life is made, the black vein of destiny or chance, whatever we may call it, appears again and again in it. That marriage is successful which transforms a chance mate into a life companion. Service of a common ideal can bind together the most unlike individuals. Love demands its sacrifices. By restraint and endurance, we raise love to the likeness of the divine.

In an ideal marriage the genuine interests of the two members are perfectly reconciled. The perfectly ethical marriage is the monogamous one. The relation of "*Rāma*" and "*Sitā*," or of "*Sāvitrī*" *and* "*Satyavān*", where the two stand by each other in all troubles, is idealised in the Hindu scriptures. While the ideal of monogamy is up-held as the best means for a complete mental, spiritual as well as physical understanding between husband and wife, other forms were permitted in view of the conditions of people with different ideals and interests, habits and desires. A happy marriage requires to be made by slow steps and with much patient effort. If incompatibility of temper is enough to justify divorce, many of us will be divorced, while women's functions are distinguished from those of men, there is no suggestion of their inferiority.

Riches abound there where a wife is happy. Deities in numbers live in that house.[1] Women are to be respected and kept with special care, because they deserve it. They are the glory and lustre of the house.[2] Fortunate is the mother, the father and the husband in whose house the

1. यद्द गृहे रमते नारी लक्ष्मीस्तद्द गृह वासिनी।
देवता: कोटिशो वत्स, न त्यजन्ति गृहं हि तत्॥ शंकर वचनं गर्गं प्रति

2. पूजनीया महाभागा: पुण्याश्च गृहदीप्तय:।
स्त्रिय: श्रियो गृहस्योक्तास्तस्माद्रक्ष्या विशेषत:॥
स्कन्दपुराण (काशी) पूर्वार्द्ध० अ० ४।५६

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wife is solely devoted to her husband.[1] Relations on the side of her father, mother and husband—all enjoy happy lives through the virtues of a devoted wife.[2] Where the foot of a devoted wife touches the earth, that part of earth is real earth, the rest is not so.[3] Wife is the root of Household life, of all happiness and of Dharma. She is meant to get issues.[4]

(*d*) *The Marriage and its Social Effects*

The householder's life begins with marriage. The ceremony is performed round the fire—as witness. Pāṇini refers to marriage by the word *upayamane* (I.2.16),[5] which he explains as *sva-karṇe, i.e.*, 'the bridegroom making the bride his own' (I.3.56).[6] The marriage ceremony is solemnised by *pāṇigrahṇa, i.e.*, 'the holding by the bridegroom of the bride's hand'. Pāṇini uses two other terms for it, *haste-kṛtya* and *pānau-kṛtya*. This holding of the hand is a symbol of *sva-karṇe, i.e.*, formal transfer of the father's domination over the girl to the husband. The legal effect of marriage is an important proposition in Hindu law. The term *sva-karṇe* of Pāṇini is explained by Pātanjali as making one's own what was not so previously (*asvaṁ yadā*

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1. धन्या सा जननी लोके धन्योऽसौ जनकः पुनः ।
   धन्यः स च पतिः श्रीमान् येषां गेहे पतिव्रता ॥६०॥
2. पितृवंश्या मातृवंश्याः पतिवंश्यास्त्रयस्त्रयः ।
   पतिव्रतायाः पुण्येन स्वर्गसौख्यानि भुञ्जते ॥६१॥
3. पतिव्रतायाश्चरणो यत्र तत्र स्पृशेद् भुवम् ।
   तत्रेति भूमि र्मन्यत नात्र भारोऽस्ति पावनी ॥६२॥
4. भार्यामूलं गृहस्थस्य भार्यामूलं सुखस्य च ।
   भार्या धर्म फलावाप्त्यै भार्या सन्तानवृद्धये ॥६७॥
   स्कन्दपुराण (काशी) पूर्वार्द्ध० अ० ४
5. विभाषोपयमने । पा० १।२।१६
6. उपाद् यमः स्वकरणे । पा० १।३।५६

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svaṁ karoti, Bhāṣya I.3.56). According to Manu,[1] marriage means the gift (pradāna) of a girl by her parents by which they transfer their domination over her to the bridegroom (*pradānam svāmyakāraṇam* V. 152). According to Pāṇini,[2] the bride whom the husband marries should be a *kumārī*, which is explained by Pātanjali as *apūrvapati, i.e.*, one who is not previously married (*Kumārāpūrva-vacane*, IV. 2.12).[3] Exogamy implied that the marriage must have been contracted outside the gotra. Pātanjali gives the following instances of exogamy (1) Atri-Bharadvājikā, (2) Vasiṣṭha-Kaśyapikā (Paṇ. II. 4. 63 ; I. 492).[4]

The Marriage Ceremony

Constancy, self-control, love, self-abnegation are the virtues which can be best developed during married life only. If there is no marriage, all relationships will become meaningless. The marriage rites are common for all the forms of marriage. As a sacrament the ceremonies commence with the invocation of God's mercy and ancestral blessings by means of prayer and service (*śrāddha*) known as the *ābhyudayikā* (progressive) and end with a concluding sacrifice called Kuśaṇḍikā. The intermediate ceremonies comprise the *Kanyādāna* (handing over the bride), *pāṇigrahaṇa* (acceptance of the bride's hands), *aśmārohana* (ascending together the symbolic stone of firmness), and *saptapadi* (walking together seven steps). Thus there are the following *five chief parts of the marriage ceremony* :—

The first part is the *maṇḍapa ceremony* which begins with *Homa* and prayers at the houses of the bride and bridegroom

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1. मङ्गलार्थं स्वस्त्ययनं यज्ञश्चासां प्रजापतेः ।
   प्रयुज्यते विवाहे तु प्रदानं स्वाम्यकारणम् ॥ मनु० ५।१५२
2. कौमारापूर्व वचने । पा० ४।२।१२
3. अत्रि···वसिष्ठ···। पा० २।४।६५
4. यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । पा० २।४।६३

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separately. It is a sort of invocation of God's blessings for the sacrament which is going to be performed soon after. For theists, it is an appropriate beginning to all sacred actions. It devotes a very high stage of society in which marriages are based not upon force but upon goodwill and agreeableness of the parties. This first ceremony is called the *nāndīmukha service* (*śrāddha*). It is performed separately by the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom. Another ceremony consists in giving a hygienic bath to the bridegroom and the bride with powdered turmeric and other fragrant things and is known as *gātra-haridrā* (besmearing the body with turmeric powder). The primary object of this bath is to generate a sex desire in the bride and the bridegroom.

The woman is like a pot of ghee and the man like live coal. Therefore a wise man should not bring together the ghee and fire. One should not sit with one's mother, sister or daughter in solitude. The sense organs are very irresistible (or powerful). They overpower even a learned person.[1]

The second part is *Madhuparka* commonly known as *Dvārapūjā* or door-worship, which is synonymous to reception. Here the bridegroom is received by the bride and her people at her father's house. The bridegroom is the chief guest and the bride the chief host. The ceremony is very impressive and runs as follows :—

The bride says :—"Here is the seat, kindly accept it."[2]

The bridegroom replies :—"Thanks. I accept it."[3]

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1. घृत कुम्भसमा नारी तप्ताङ्गार समः पुमान् ।
तस्माद् घृतं च वह्निं च नैकत्र स्थापयेद् बुधः ॥१॥
मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा न विविक्तासनो भवेत् ।
बलवानिन्द्रियग्रामो विद्वांसमपि कर्षति ॥२॥
2. ओ३म् विष्टरो विष्टरो विष्टरः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।
3. ओ३म् प्रतिगृह्णामि ।

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Then the bride says, "Here is water. Kindly wash your feet."[1]

The bridegroom says, "Thanks. I accept it."[2]

The bride says, "Here is water to wash your face. Kindly accept it."[3]

The bridegroom takes it with the remarks, "Thanks. I accept it."[4]

Then, "Here is water for you to drink (literally sip). Kindly accept it."[5]

The bridegroom accepts it with the same words.[6]

Then, "Here is Madhuparka. Kindly accept it."[7]

The bridegroom accepts it.[8]

Madhuparka is a mixture of curd and honey, offered and received with equal sweetness. The three verses to be read by the bridegroom at this occasion are so sweet that we cannot help giving them.

"*Om Bhūr Bhuvah, Svah* are benedictory phrases. Sweet are the breaths of winds. Sweet is the flow of rivers. Let hearts be full of sweetness for us. Night is sweet and so is the dawn. Sweet is earthly sand. Let our fatherly sky be sweet. Let vegetable kingdom be sweet for us and sweet the sun (that helps their vegetation). Let cows be sweet for us."[9] Here the bride and the bridegroom are

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1. ओ३म् पाद्यं पाद्यं पाद्यं प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।
2. ओ३म् प्रतिगृह्णामि ।
3. ओ३म् अर्घोऽर्घोऽर्घः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।
4. ओ३म् प्रतिगृह्णामि ।
5. ओ३म् आचमनीयमाचमनीयमाचमनीयं प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।
6. ओ३म् प्रतिगृह्णामि ।
7. ओ३म् मधुपर्को मधुपर्को मधुपर्कः प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।
8. ओ३म् प्रतिगृह्णामि ।
9. ओ३म् भूर्भुवः स्वः । मधु वाता ऋतायते मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः । माध्वीन-स्सन्त्वोषधीः ॥१॥

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shown with the sweetness of their hearts and nature. They are in a sweet mood and everything they look upon or think of appears sweet. This hospitality offered by the bride herself teaches another lesson too. It is thus that the wife should receive her husband in actual family life, when wearied in limbs and worried in mind, mends his way homeward to find solace in the sweet reception of his wife. Verily sweet are the joys of home, but it is wife who makes the home really sweet. There is a difference of chalk and cheese, between hotel life and home life. The offer of a cow is the last item of the reception. A cow is an indispensable member of a Hindu family as all life depends upon milk.

The third part which is the main part and the chief one, is known as *Sampradāna* (or *Kanyādāna*), *pāṇigrahaṇa* or hand-grasping ceremony. It consists in completely handing over the bride by her father[1] to the bridegroom. This custom is common among the Christians and the Muslims also, and implies that the bride herself cannot make her over to the man even of her own choice in a sacramental form of marriage. In the absence of the bride's father someone else has to hand her over. According to the Hindu custom, the father formally and respectfully receives the bridegroom and asks his consent to choose him formally as bridegroom and asks whether he agrees to perform the duties of the husband of his daughter. The bride-

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ओ३म् भू र्भुवः स्वः । मधु नक्तमुतोषसो मधुमत् पार्थिवं रजः ।
मधु द्यौरस्तु नः पिता ॥२॥
ओ३म् भू र्भुवः स्वः । मधुमान् नो वनस्पतिः मधुमाँ अस्तु सूर्यः ।
माध्वी गावो भवन्तु नः ॥३॥ [ऋ० १।९०।६-८]

1. दूर्वां पुष्पं फलञ्चैव वस्त्रं ताम्बूलमेव च ।
एभिः कन्या मया दत्ता रक्षणं पोषणं कुरु ॥
अस्याः कन्यायाः दोषाः क्षन्तव्या गुणास्तु ग्राह्याः ॥

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groom formally and publicly assumes the responsibility. He is enjoined to protect and maintain the bride, to appreciate her merits and to forgive her shortcomings. Thereafter, the father of the bride says, "Please accept this well-dressed girl, named so and so, born in such and such family,"[1] followed by a formal acceptance[2] by grasping the hand of the bride. The gift is made by mentioning the names of the forefathers of both sides, so that there may arise no troubles regarding the identity of the bride and the bridegroom. Along with the bride are given dowries consisting of food, water, beddings, cattle, gold and jewels and landed property.[3] Now they become husband and wife in the eyes of law and offer joint oblation to fire. They both jointly recite this verse—

"Let all, present here know that our hearts have mingled together water-like. Let breath, let God, let the instructress (goddess of learning) keep us joined."[4] The present audience says—"God has made this wife and He has made you as her husband. May God give both of you a long life of thousands of years."[5]

Then the hands of the bride and bridegroom are tied together and the ends of their nuptial garments are also knotted firmly, indicating their unification both physically and as life partners. And the union is prayed to be as firm and successful as between Indra and Indrāṇī, Vibhāvasu and

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1. ओ३म् अमुक+गोत्रोत्पन्नामिमाममुक नाम्नीं+अलङ्कृतां कन्यां प्रतिगृह्णातु भवान् ।
2. ओ३म् अमुक+गोत्रोत्पन्नोऽहं अमुक नामा प्रतिगृह्णामि अत्रभवतीम् ।
3. भूमि मन्नं जलं शय्यां गो हिरण्यादिकं यौतुकं जामात्रे दद्यात् ।
4. समञ्जन्तु विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयानि नौ ।
   संमातरिश्वा संधाता समुदेष्ट्री दधातु नौ ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।४७
   पार० १।४।१४
5. त्वष्टा जायामजनयत् त्वष्टास्यै त्वां पतिम् ।
   त्वष्टा सहस्रमायूंषि दीर्घमायुष्कृणोतु वाम् ॥ अथर्व० ६।७८।३

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Svāhā, Soma and Rohiṇī, Nala and Damayantī, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhadrā, Vasiṣṭha and Arundatī, Gaurī and Śankara and lastly as between Narāyaṇa and Lakṣmi. Each of these illustrious unions has a notable feature, all of which are invoked here. Thus after accepting the bride, the bride-groom takes her from the marriage pandal to the inner abode. Therein the nuptial fire for joint sacrifice (saṃyojaka-agni) is kindled and established. Around this fire the first promises and agreements between the husband and wife are made. As a token of maintenance throughout the life, the husband clothes[1] the wife with two pieces of garments, one for the lower body and the other for the upper; and addressing her respectfully says—"Oh honoured lady! live here happily for hundred years, be glorious and while living, enjoy wealth and plenty; you do not be separated from me, stay here and enjoy universal life (*i.e.*, peace and prosperity); prosper in this house with dear children and be conscientious in performing the household duties."

The fourth part known as the पाणिग्रहण संस्कार starts with the perambulations round the sacred fire proceeded by (i) stone-treading ceremony. There is a stone-slab on which the bride is asked to put her foot. The bride-groom reads—"Ascend this stone and be firm like a rock. Be firm against enmity-sowers. Overcome quarrelsome people."[2] And also—"This girl leaving her parents, has accepted the husband's family and the husband's creed. We may dip deep

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1. ओं जरां गच्छ परिधत्स्व वासो भवा कृष्टी नामभिशस्तिपा वा।
शतं च जीव शरदः सुवर्चा रयिं च।
पुत्राननु स व्ययस्वायुष्मतीदं परिधत्स्व वासः ॥१२॥
ओं या अकृन्तन्न वयन् या अतन्वत याश्च देवीस्तन्तूनभितो ततन्थ।
तास्ता देवीजरंसे संव्ययस्वायुष्मतीदं परिधत्स्व वासः ॥१३॥
पार० १।४।१२-१३

2. ओं आरोहेयमश्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव।
अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतो ऽवबाधस्व पृतनायतः ॥

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as if in a mingled stream. O girl, with thee, let us be away from jealousies."[1]

(ii) The hair-loosening ceremony which is also one of the minor items, is worth-noting. The bridegroom takes the bride to a private room and there unties the knot of the hair of her head with these verses,[2] "I free thee from restrictions of the law by which thy good father hitherto bound thee *i.e.* the life of celebacy. Now I am marrying thee and thy maidenhood comes to an end by my touch of thy hair. With me, thy husband, thou shalt live a life of righteousness and charity." I free her from her obligations here *i.e.* in her father's family, and not there *i.e.* in the husband's family. Now that she stands well bound with her valiant husband, she might have good luck in worthy progeny.[3]

(iii) Now the husband and the wife come again to the sacred hearth and walk *seven steps* together in the presence of the people with significant vows. The husband says—"Let not thy left foot outdo thy right foot (*i.e.*, be constant and consistent."[4] Each step has separate vows :—

(*a*) Take the first step for the sake of food (livelihood). Follow me in my vows. Let God be thy guide. May we get children, and the progeny be manifold and long-lived.[5]

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1. ओं कन्यला पितृभ्यः पतिलोकं पतीयमप दीक्षामयष्ट ।
कन्या उत त्वया वयं धारा उदन्या इवातिगा हे मति द्विषः ॥
2. ओं प्र त्वा मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य प्राशात् येन त्वा बध्नात् सविता सुशेवः ।
ऋतस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोकेऽरिष्टां त्वा सह पत्या दधामि ॥
ऋ० १०।८५।२४
3. ओं प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः सुबद्धाममुतस्करम् ।
यथेयमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रा सुभगासति ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।२५
4. मा सव्येन दक्षिण मतिक्राम् ।
5. ओं इषे एकपदी भव, सा मामनु व्रता भव ।
विष्णुस्त्वा नयतु, पुत्रान् विन्दावहै, बहूँस्ते सन्तु जरदष्टयः ॥१॥

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(*b*) Take the second step for power. Follow me in my vows, etc. etc.[1]

(*c*) Take the third step for wealth and prosperity. Follow me in my vows, etc. etc.[2]

(*d*) Take the fourth step for happiness. Follow me, etc. etc.[3]

(*e*) Take the fifth step for progeny. Follow me, etc. etc.[4]

(*f*) Take the sixth step for seasonal equipment. Follow me, etc. etc.[5]

(*g*) Take the seventh step for the close union. Follow me, etc. etc.[6]

Thereafter, addressing the bride the husband sums up his promises towards the wife—"Oh beloved! You be my companion in achieving the seven objects (of married life). I promise to become your friend, no other woman shall break our union (friendship) and our friendship be the source of all happiness.

(iv) Now they touch the heart of each other with the following verse—"I put thy heart into my vow. Let my mind be in accordance with thy mind. Follow my word with pointed attention. Let God join thee with me."[7]

(v) Then the husband touches the bride's forehead and addresses the visitors and friends attending—"Here is my

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1. ओं ऊर्ज्जे द्विपदी भव मामनु व्रता·····॥२॥
2. ओं रायस्पोषाय त्रिपदी भव·····॥३॥
3. ओं मयोभवाय चतुष्पदी भव·····॥४॥
4. ओं प्रजाभ्यः पंचपदी भव·····॥५॥
5. ओं ऋतुभ्यः षट्पदी भव·····॥६॥
6. ओं सखे सप्तपदी भव·····॥७॥ आश्व० १।८।१९
7. ओं मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि। मम चित्तमनुचित्तं ते अस्तु।
   मम वाचमेकमना जुषस्व, प्रजापतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यम्॥

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auspicious wife. Come ye and see. Bless her before you go. Be not unfriendly to her."[1] People thereupon say—"Let fortune attend you. Let everything be alright."[2]

Thus the Hindu wife is not merely colleague or partner in rearing up children, but she is co-worker bearing the most dignified title of *Patnī*, so called because of her unavoidable association in the performance of all sacrificial rites. In the absence of *Sitā*, for instance, *Rāmacandra* had to get cast a life-like image in gold of his consort in order to perform the horse-sacrifice.

(vi) Then takes place the *Pole-seeing* ceremony. The bridegroom points at the Pole Star, "Look at the Pole Star."[3] The bride—"I see."[4]

"Thou art *Dhruva* or constant. May I be constant in my husband's family."[5]

(vii) Bridegroom—"Now look at the *Arundhatī* (a small star of this name)."[6]

Bride—"I see."[7]

Bridegroom says—"Thou art Arundhatī (literally, not under a check), but I am *rudha*, under control."[8]

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1. सुमंगलीरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्यत ।
   सौभाग्यमस्यै दत्वा याथास्तं विपरेतन ॥ ऋ० १०।८५।३३
   पार० १।८।६
2. ओं सौभाग्यमस्तु । ओं शुभं भवतु ॥
3. ध्रुवं पश्य ।
4. पश्यामि ।
5. ओं ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवाहं पति कुले भूयासम् । गोभिल गृ० २।३।८
6. अरुन्धतीं पश्य ।
7. पश्यामि ।
8. ओं अरुन्धत्यसि रुद्धाहमस्मि ॥ गोभिल० गृ० २।३।१०

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Now the bridegroom exclaims :—

"Constant is the sky, this earth, this universe, and constant are these mountains ; so constant this woman be in the husband's house."[1]

The verses recited at and relating to the *Pāṇīgrahaṇa ceremony* are very interesting. After the prayers and promises for the unification of the hearts, a physical unification is demonstrated by the ceremony known as the *pāṇīgrahaṇa* (accepting the hands). The husband affectionately clasps with his both palms the hands of the bride and makes six other promises, "As the Gods have kindly given me you for the (completion of) household life, I hold your hands as a matter of great fortune ; stay on with me till old age (*i.e.* death can only separate us)."[2] "O my bride ! always look at me with kind eyes, do not hurt your husband, be pleasant to the members of our family and cattle, be of pleasant mind and well-balanced power, give birth to heroic children, never miscarry, perform the five daily sacrifices, cause happiness to us and do good to all biped (relations) and quadruped (cattle) of our family. May the Creator give us (the benefit of) children till old age. May God endow our descendants with great qualities. Oh bride ! the Gods of all good have given me you, therefore, come into your husband's family and do good to the biped and quadruped members of the family."[3]

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1. ओं ध्रुवा द्यौ ध्रुवा पृथिवी ध्रुवं विश्वमिदं जगत् ।
ध्रुवासः पर्वता इमे ध्रुवा स्त्री पतिकुले इयम् ॥ मं० ब्रा० १।६।६
गोभिल गृ० २।३।११

2. ओं गृभ्णामि सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टि र्यथासः ।
भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरन्धि र्मह्यं त्वादु गर्हपत्याय देवाः ॥१॥
ऋ० १०।८५।३६

3. ओं भगस्ते हस्तमग्रभीत् सविता हस्तमग्रभीत् ।
पत्नी त्वमसि धर्मणाहं गृहपतिस्तव ॥२॥

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Prayers and Promises for Mutual Obligation

(a) *Bridegroom's prayers and promises.*

He says,[1] "May fire bring her children, may Varuṇa protect them from death so that she may not have to weep for the illness of her children. May she perform (jointly with me) the daily sacrifice to the nuptial fire, may her children remain alive and obedient till her old age, may she be never of empty lap, may she enjoy the happiness of having grand-children. May God protect your back, Vāyu and Aśvinau your thighs, the Creator Sun your children in the lap (who live on breast-feeding) up to the

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ममेयमस्तु पोष्या मह्यं त्वादाद् बृहस्पतिः ।
मया पत्या सह प्रजावती शं जीव शरदः शतम् ॥३॥
त्वष्टा वासो व्यदधाच्छुभे कं बृहस्पतेः प्रशिषा कवीनाम् ।
तेनेमां नारीं सविता भगश्च सूर्यामिव परिधत्तां प्रजया ॥४॥
इन्द्राग्नी द्यावापृथिवी मातरिश्वा मित्रा वरुणा भगो अश्विनोभा ।
बृहस्पति मंरुतो ब्रह्म सोम इमां नारीं प्रजया वर्धयन्तु ॥५॥

अथर्व० १४।१।५१-५४

अहं विष्यामि मयि रूपमस्या वेदवित्पश्यन्मनसा कुलायम् ।
न स्तेयमद्मि मनसोदमुच्ये स्वयं श्रथ्नानो वरुणस्य पाशान् ॥६॥

अथर्व० १४।१।५७

आ नः प्रजां जनयतु प्रजापतिराजरसाय समनक्त्वर्यमा ।
अदु मंङ्गलीः पतिलोकमाविश शंनो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥१॥
अघोरचक्षुरपतिघ्न्येधि शिवा पशुभ्यः सुमनाः सुवर्चाः ।
वीरसू देवृकामा स्योना शन्नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥२॥

ऋ० १०।८५।४३-४४]

1. अग्निरैतु प्रथमो देवताना ँ सोऽस्यै प्रजां मुञ्चतु मृत्युपाशात् ।
तदयं राजा वरुणोऽनुमन्यतां यथेय ँ स्त्री पौत्रमघं न रोदात् स्वाहा ॥१॥
इमामग्निस्त्रायतां गार्हपत्यः प्रजामस्यै नयतु दीर्घमायुः ।
अशून्योपस्था जीवतामस्तु माता पौत्रमानन्दमभि विबुध्यतामिय ँ स्वाहा ॥२॥

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age of their putting on clothes, thereafter, Bṛhaspati and Viśvedeva protect (*i.e.* give intelligence to) them. May in your house never rise the cry of wailing, the sorrowful weeping women, other than you, be in enemy's house, even if you have to weep may not it be of heart-rending sort, may you adorn the husband's family having your husband alive and seeing your children happy and prosperous. O my beloved ! I shall remove barrenness from you, children's death, your death and all misfortunes from you and shall transfer them like a (withered) garland to the enemy." And lastly, "Oh God of death ! may death be away from us, may freedom from (untimely) death be ours, may death-god give us freedom from fear. O death ! you go elsewhere. I say this personally to you, do not take away our children and grand-children, do not kill our heroic people."[1] "May the God never separate my wife from my family. O Indra ! be pleased to make this bride bear me good children and be loving to her husband and bring forth ten children and the husband as the eleventh. Be you the queen of my house ruling over your father-in-law, mother in-law, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law. Give your heart to my undertaking, may your heart follow mine (*i.e.* may we feel, think and act in the same way), listen to my words whole-

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स्वस्ति नो ऽग्ने दिव आ पृथिव्या विश्वानि धेह्ययथा यजत्र ।
यदस्यां महि दिवि जातं प्रशस्तं तदस्मासु द्रविणं धेहि चित्रं स्वाहा ॥३॥
परं मृत्यो अनुपरेहि पन्थां यत्र नो अन्य इतरो देवयानात् ।
चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते ब्रवीमि मा नः प्रजा ँ रीरिषो मोत वीरान्त्स्वाहा ॥४॥]

1. सुगन्तु पन्थां प्रदिशं न एहि ज्योतिष्मध्ये ह्यजरं न आयुः ।
अपैतु मृत्युरमृतं मा आगाद्वैवस्वतो नो अभयं कृणोतु स्वाहा ॥४॥
द्यौस्ते पृष्ठं रक्षतु वायुरूरू अश्विनौ च ।
स्तनन्धयांस्ते पुत्रान्त्सविताभिरक्षत्वा वाससः परिधानाद्
बृहस्पतिः विश्वेदेवा अभिरक्षन्तु पश्चात् स्वाहा ॥६॥

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heartedly and willingly, may the god of wisdom induce you to be mindful of interests."[1]

O fortunate and happinessgiving lady! with all your brightness and helpful counsels, you give useful objects to your husband. You, with a cheerful mind, enjoying all pleasures of life, come to me, today, with all those blessings.[2] O lovely lady! your person is extremely fascinating. You select one out of learned men of your own choice. You accept my humble gifts and bear a child.[3] I accept such a girl who is extremely shy, who conquers with love, who gives pleasure and happiness like a moonlit-night, who is goddess of learning, who is rolling in riches, who is destroyer of all misfortunes, for my pleasure, satisfaction and protection.[4] May your womb bear pregnancy of a male child, just like an arrow safe in the arrow-case. May a brave son of ten months be born to you.[5] O wife! you give birth to a son and afterward, again, a male child may be born to

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1. इमां त्वमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपत्नां सुभगां कृणु ।
दशास्यां पुत्रानाधेहि पतिमेकादशं कृधि ॥४५॥
सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्रवां भव ।
ननान्दरी सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥४६॥
ऋ० १०।८५।४५-४६
मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तमनु चित्तं ते अस्तु ।
मम वाचमेकमना जुषस्व प्रजापतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यम् ॥ पार० १।८।८

2. यास्ते राके सुमतयः सुपेशसो याभिर्ददासि दाशुषे वसूनि ।
ताभि र्नो अद्य सुमना उपा गहि सहस्रपोषं सुभगे रराणा ॥ ऋ० २।३२।५

3. सिनीवाली पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा ।
जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि उः ॥ ऋ० २।३२।६

4. या गुङ्गूर्या सिनीवाली या राका या सरस्वती ।
इन्द्राणीमह्व ऊतये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये ॥ ऋ० २।३२।८

5. आ ते योनिं गर्भ एतु पुमान् बाण इवेषुधिम् ।
आ वीरो ऽत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः ॥ अथर्व० ३।२३।२

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you. May you be a mother of all such easily born sons for a long time.[1]

(*b*) *Bride's prayers and promises*

O God! Thou art our father, king-like, instruct us fatherly. Obeisance be to Thee. Do not Thou harm me. May we, the masters of material objects win Thee. Vouchsafe me, sons and cattle. Grant us offspring. Safe may I remain together with my husband.[2] O God! preserve my life. Preserve my Prāṇ. Guard my Apān. Guard my Vyān. Preserve my eyes. Strengthen my speech with good instructions. Satisfy my mind. Preserve my soul. Vouchsafe my light of knowledge.[3] We may be rich in offsprings, rich in brave people, and rich in food to feed with, everywhere, on earth, in ether and sky.[4] O Lord of food, vouchsafe for us a share of food that invigorates us, and brings no sickness. Onward, still onward lead the giver. Grant us maintenance both for quadrupeds and bipeds.[5] O God! pour on my offspring plenty of wealth and prosperity. May I through good conduct enjoy full age.[6] May my husband

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1. पुमांसं पुत्रं जनय तं पुमाननु जायताम्।
भवासि पुत्राणां माता जातानां जनयाश्च यान्॥ अथर्व० ३।२३।३
2. पिता नो ऽसि पिता नो बोधि, नमस्तेऽअस्तु मा मा हिꣳसीः।
त्वष्टूमन्तस्त्वा सपेम पुत्रान् पशून् मयि धेहि
प्रजामस्मासु धेह्यरिष्टाहꣳ सह पत्या भूयासम्॥ यजु० ३७।२०
3. आयुर्मे पाहि प्राणं मे पाहि, अपानं मे पाहि,
व्यानं मे पाहि, चक्षु र्मे पाहि, श्रोत्रं मे पाहि, वाचम्मे पिन्व,
मनो मे जिन्वात्मानम्मे पाहि, ज्योति र्मे यच्छ। यजु० १४।१७
4. भू र्भुवः स्वः। सुप्रजाः प्रजाभिः स्याम सुवीराः वीरैः सुपोषाः पोषैः।
यजु० ८।५३
5. अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य नो देह्यनमीवस्य शुष्मिणः।
प्रप्रदातारं तारिष ऽऊर्जं नो धेहि द्विपदे चतुष्पदे॥ यजु० ११।८३
6. स यज्ञ धुक्ष्व महि मे प्रजाया ँ रायस्पोषं विश्वमायु रशीय स्वाहा॥
यजु० ८।६२

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enjoy a long life. May he live for hundred years.[1]

No other woman is more lovely and charming than myself. No other woman can love her husband more than myself. No other woman can satisfy and give pleasure to her husband more than myself. No other woman deserves more love from her husband than myself. My husband is better than others.[2] I am like a banner of glory. I am like the head of a body in the household affairs. I am furious to my enemies. I am well-versed in debates. My husband should go according to my plans.[3]

O husband! guard thou my *Prāṇ*, my *Apān*. Guard my *Vyān* through different nice devices. Illumine my eye. Fill my ear with religious sermons. Strengthen my vital breath. Get medicinal plants. Protect bipeds. Protect quadrupeds. Manage well the house-hold affairs, as the sun, with its brilliance pours the rain.[4]

The wife demands, "May my husband facilitate my entry into his family so that I may settle there happily and peacefully and without having any enemy to face."

She then prays to God, "May my husband live for hundred years. May my relatives and relatives of my husband be prosperous in wealth and children." May my sons kill the enemies. May my daughter shine in her new

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1. दीर्घायु रस्तु मे पति र्जीवाति शरदः शतम् । अथर्व० १४।२।६३

2. न मत्स्त्री सुभग सत्तरा न सुयाशुतरा भुवत् ।
न मत्प्रतिच्यवीयसी न सक्थ्युद्यमीयसी विश्वस्मादिन्द्रः उत्तरः ॥
ऋ० १०।८६।६

3. अहं केतुरहं मूर्धाहमुग्रा विवाचनी ।
ममेदनु क्रतुं पतिः सेहानाया उपाचरेत् ॥ ऋ० १०।१५९।२

4. प्राणम्मे पाह्यपानम्मे पाहि व्यानम्मे पाहि चक्षुर्मऽउर्व्या विभाहि श्रोत्रम्मे श्लोकय । अपः पिन्वौषी र्जिन्व द्विपादव चतुष्पात् पाहि दिवो वृष्टिमेरय ॥
यजु० १४।८

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home. May my best actions and words be according to my husband.[1]

The fifth part is known as the Uttaravivāha (second marriage) which consists in performing a sacrifice and making six other prayers :—"May by my final offerings to the fire-god be removed bride's defects in the eye-brows, sockets, mouth, in the hair of the head, in the eye-sight, in the shedding of tears, in the conduct and character, in the talk, in the smile, in the brightness of the teeth, in the hands, in the feet, in the thighs, in the sex organ, in the knees, in the joints and in whatever other undesirable and terrible things, in all your limbs—all be removed.[2]

Father says to her daughter—"O daughter ! may this fortunate husband, after marrying you, take you in a chariot with his brother to his house. Darling ! you go there. You are the mistress of that house. You are to keep them in your control. Speak always charming and pleasing words to them."[3]

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1. मम पुत्राः शत्रुहणो ऽथो मे दुहिता विराट् ।
उताहमस्मि सञ्जया पत्यौ मे श्लोकः उत्तमः ॥
ऋ० १०।१५९।३

2. ओं लेखा सन्धिषु पक्ष्मस्वा वर्त्तेषु च यानि ते तानि पूर्णाहुत्या सर्वाणि शम्याम्यहं स्वाहा ॥ इदं कन्यायै इदं न मम ॥१॥
ओं केशेषु यच्च पापकमीक्षिते रुदिते च यत् । तानि० ॥२॥
ओं शीलेषु यच्च पापकं भाषिते हसिते च यत् ॥ तानि० ॥३॥
ओं आरोकेषु दन्तेषु हस्तयोः पादयोश्च यत् । तानि० ॥४॥
ओं ऊर्वो रुपस्थे जङ्घयोः सन्धानेषु च यानि ते । तानि० ॥५॥
ओं यानि कानि च घोराणि सर्वाङ्गेषु तवाभवन् । पूर्णाहुतिभिराज्यस्य सर्वाणि तान्यशीशमं स्वाहा ॥ इदं कन्यायै इदं न मम ॥६॥
गोभि० गृ० २।३।१-६

3. भगस्त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्याश्विना त्वा प्रवहतां रथेन ।
गृहान् गच्छ गृह पत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ॥
अथर्व० १४।१।२०

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O husband and wife ! we design for your habitation a house wherein sun-rays come plentifully. Here, in such a well-ventilated house, can dawn upon you, the divine light, whereby you may realize the supermost stage of God.

The last part of the ceremony is when the wife comes to the husband's house.[1] Here again she is brought to the sacred fire and the husband confers upon her all the rights of his family (as given above). In the new home here she is quite a stranger. The husband consoles her and says that her marriage with him has made this home her own. She is the mistress of the house. She has the same rights here as his father, mother, brother or sister. She is verily the queen of the house.

The Feeding ceremony

The next ceremony consists in introducing the bride to the regular home life. First the husband and then the bride partake of simple food (anna) as in the course of student life for three days and nights and sleep together on the ground as indicated in the conception ceremony. Then the husband says—"Now, I join you with me by the fetter of food which is the chain of life and soul (*i.e.* which keeps the body and the soul together), as I have already tied your mind and heart by the true knot of marriage ; let your heart be mine and my heart yours ; thus as food is the bond of life I bind you thereby."[2]

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1. ता वां वास्तून्युश्मसि गमध्यै यत्र गावो भूरि शृङ्गा अयासः ।
अत्राह तदुरुगायस्य वृष्णः परमं पदमव भाति भूरि ॥
ऋ० १।१५४।६

2. ओं अन्न पाशेन मणिना प्राणसूत्रेण पृश्निना ।
बध्नामि सत्यग्रन्थिना मनश्च हृदयं च ते ॥१॥
ओं यदेतद् हृदयं तव तदस्तु हृदयं मम ।
यदिद ं हृदयं मम तदस्तु हृदयं तव ॥२॥
सामविधान ब्रा० १।३।६
ओं अन्नं प्राणस्य षड् वि ं शस्तेन बध्नामि त्वा ॥३॥
गोभि० गृ० २।३।१७-२१; मं० ब्रा० १।३।८-१०

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Thereafter on the fourth day, the couple performs a sacrifice (*caturthī-homa*) by way of physical purification. Thereafter they begin to live as husband and wife in the same bed but without touching each other, until they mutually decide to cohabit and beget a child.

These ceremonies with slight changes here and there still prevail all over the country and among all communities and sects of the Hindus. In India marriage is a sacrament. The union is not of bodies but the union of souls, indissoluble even by the death of either party.

Duties of a good husband

There is no doubt that the house is a hell, if the wife is against the husband.[1] If there is no mother in the house, or the wife speaks harsh words, the husband should go to a jungle. To him such a house is just like a wood.[2] Women, even fallen, are not to be neglected or turned out. Their passions are natural. They are purified after monthly menses.[3] There is no holy place on earth like a wife. There is no happiness as that of a wife. There is no virtue like a wife. There is nothing on earth so faithful as a wife, for the good of the husband.[4]

Propriety and timing of Union

According to *Gautama*, a house-holder shall approach his wife in the proper season, or he may do so at any time except on the forbidden days.[5]

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1. प्रतिकूलकलत्रस्य नरको नात्र संशयः। दक्ष स्मृति
2. माता यस्य गृहे नास्ति भार्या चाप्रियवादिनी।
अरण्यं तेन गन्तव्यं यथारण्यं तथा गृहम् ॥
3. न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते।
ऋतुकाले उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ अत्रि संहिता
4. नास्ति भार्या समं तीर्थं नास्ति भार्या समं सुखम्।
नास्ति भार्या समं पुण्यं नास्ति भर्तुः हिताय च ॥
पद्म० पु० भूमि० ५६।२४
5. ऋतावुपेयात् ॥१॥ सर्वत्र वा प्रतिषिद्धवर्जम् ॥२॥
गौतम ध० सू० ५।१-२

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According to *Vasiṣṭha*, he should have intercourse only with his wife, during her seasons, except the forbidden days.[1]

According to *Āpastamba*, let him have connection with his wife at the proper time, according to the rules of the law. Let him have connubial intercourse in the interval also, if his wife desires it, observing the restrictions imposed by the law. The duty of connubial intercourse follows from the passage of a Brāhmaṇa. ('Let us dwell together until a son be born.') But during intercourse he shall be dressed in a particular dress kept for this purpose, and during intercourse only they shall lie together, afterwards separate. Then they both shall bathe. Let him not have connubial intercourse with his wife in the day-time.[2]

According to *Vaikhānasa*, in the evening after the performance of homa, having fed the guests and eating moderately, one should sleep[3] with his wife. One should have intercourse with one's own wife during the nights of the period of sixteen days of each month favourable for procreation. During the first three nights of the period of sixteen days favourable for procreation in each month, one should avoid copulation, sitting or sleeping with one's wife. One should not have sexual intercourse with other's

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1. ऋतुकालगामी स्यात् पर्ववर्जं स्वदारेषु ॥१८॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १२।१८
2. अहन्य संवेशनम् ॥१६॥
   ऋतौ च संनिपातो दारेणानुव्रतम् ॥१७॥
   अन्तरालापेऽपि दार एव ॥१८॥
   ब्राह्मण वचनाच्च संवेशनम् ॥१९॥
   स्त्रीवाससंव संनिपातः स्यात् ॥२०॥
   यावत्संनिपातं चैव सहशय्या ॥२१॥
   ततो नाना ॥२२॥
   उदकोपस्पर्शनम् ॥२३॥
   आप० ध० सू० २।१।१।१६-२३
3. सायं च होमान्ते ऽतिथीनभ्यागतान् प्राशयित्वा मितं प्राश्य पत्न्या शयीत ॥
   वखानस ध० सू० ३।१।३

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wives, for, by such sexual intercourse with other's wives, life, wealth and the power and sanctity perish.[1]

According to *Yajñavalkya*, sixteen days or nights commencing with the day of the menses are the menstrual period of the womankind ; of them one should know his wife on the night of an even day such as the fourth, the sixth or the eighth night. This is *Brahmacaryam*. On the other hand one should avoid *parva* days and the first four days of the menses. One should always avoid Maghā and Mūlā while thus knowing his wife, emaciated by restricted diet. When the moon is auspicious, a man should approach once and procreate an excellent son endued with auspicious marks.[2] Remembering the vow of women, being faithfully devoted to one's own wife, and being influenced by desire proportionate to hers, one can know his wife, even at any other time except the menstrual period, for it is laid down in the Smṛtis that women should be protected by every means.[3]

According to *Manu*, the family man must be satisfied *with his wife only* and should go to her only at the fixed periods.[4]

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1. ऋतुरात्रिषु स्वभार्यामुपगच्छेत् ॥५॥
आदौ त्रिरात्रमृतुमतीगमनसहासन शयनानि वर्जयेत् ॥६॥
परदारान्न सङ्गच्छेत्, परदारगमनादायुः श्रीब्रह्मवर्चसं विनश्यति ॥७॥
अश्नतीं तां जृम्भमाणां नग्नां च नावलोकयेत् ॥९॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१।५-७,९

2. षोडशर्त्तुनिशाः स्त्रीणां तासु युग्मासु संविशेत् ।
ब्रह्मचार्येव पर्वाण्याद्यश्चतस्रस्तु वर्जयेत् ॥७९॥
एवं गच्छन् स्त्रियं क्षामां मघां मूलञ्च वर्जयेत् ।
शस्त इन्दौ सकृत् पुत्रं लक्षण्यं जनयेत् पुमान् ॥८०॥ याज्ञ० १।७९-८०

3. यथा कामी भवेद्वापी स्त्रीणां वरमनुस्मरन् ।
स्वदार निरतश्चैव स्त्रियो रक्ष्याः यतः स्मृताः ॥ याज्ञ० १।८१
मनु० ३।४५

4. ऋतु कालाभिगामी स्यात् स्वदार निरतः सदा ।

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The Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra wife

(1) *Vasiṣṭha* states that if a Brāhmaṇa marries a Śūdra wife, the degradation is certain, and after death, falls from heaven. The Devas do not eat in the house of the Brāhmaṇa husband of a Śūdra wife.[1]

(2) According to *Baudhāyana*, begetting children on a Śūdra wife etc. etc. leads to degradation.[2]

(3) *Yajñavalkya* does not accept the view that the twice-born may take a Śūdra wife, because in that case, man himself is supposed to have been born in his wife as the son.[3]

Manu states that in no case Śūdra wife is allowed to a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatṛya, even in distress. A Brāhmaṇa goes to degradation, if he sleeps with a Śūdra woman. He is deprived of his Brāhmaṇatva, if he gets a son from her.[4]

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1. अतो हि ध्रुवः कुलापकर्षः प्रेत्य चास्वर्गः ॥२७॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १।२७
नाश्नन्तिश्ववतो देवा नाश्नन्ति वृषलीपतेः ।
भार्याजितस्य नाश्नन्ति यस्य चोपपतिर्गृहे ॥६॥ वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १४।६

2. शूद्राभिजननम् ॥५५॥ तदपत्यत्वं च ॥५६॥
.....पापमस्ति ॥५८॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।१।५५-५८

3. यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां शूद्राद्दारोपसंग्रहः ।
न तन्मम मतं यस्मात्तत्रात्मा जायते स्वयम् ॥ याज्ञ० १।५६

4. न ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिययोरापद्यपि हि तिष्ठतोः ।
कस्मिंश्चिदपि वृत्तान्ते शूद्रा भार्योपदिश्यते ॥ मनु० ३।१४
शूद्रां शयनमारोप्य ब्राह्मणो यात्यधोगतिम् ।
जनयित्वा सुतं तस्यां ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते ॥ मनु० ३।१७

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CHAPTER III

HOUSEHOLDER'S LIFE AND HIS DUTIES

The Householder and his Duties

(1) *Four kinds of Householders*

According to Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra, householders are of four kinds—*Vārtā vṛttis, Śālīna vṛttis, Yāyāvaras, Ghorācārikas.* The one known as *Vārtā vṛttis* lives by agriculture, tending of cows and trade. The one known as *Śālīna vṛttis,* practising *niyamas* performing the pākayajñas and establishing the sacred fires, is a performer of darśāpūrṇamāsya sacrifices, full moon and new moon sacrifices every fortnight, cāturmāsya sacrifice (four monthly sacrifice) every four months, paśubandha sacrifice every six months and soma sacrifice annually. A Yāyāvara is he, who performs himself sacrifices—Haviryajñas, Somayajñas, and causes others to perform the above sacrifices, who reads the Vedas himself and teaches the Vedas to others, who donates and takes donations from others, who is busy in the six duties everyday and who performing Agnihotra, entertains the guests and other visitors with food etc.[1]

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1. गृहस्थाश्चतुर्विधाः वार्तावृत्तिः, शालीन वृत्ति र्यायावरो घोराचारिकश्चेति ॥१॥ वार्तावृत्तिः कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्योपजीवी ॥२॥ शालीनवृत्ति र्नियमे र्युतः पाकयज्ञै रिष्ट्वाग्नीनाधाय पक्षे पक्षे दर्श पूर्णमास याजी, चतुर्षु चतुर्षु मासेषु चातुर्मास्ययाजी षट्षु षट्सु मासेषु पशुबन्धयाजी, प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमयाजी च ॥३॥ यायावरो हविर्यज्ञैः सोमयज्ञैश्च यजते याजयत्यधीते ऽध्यापयति ददाति प्रतिगृह्णाति षट्कर्मनिरतो नित्यमग्निपरिचरण-मतिथिभ्यो ऽभ्यागतेभ्यो ऽन्नाद्यं च कुरुते ॥ वैखानस ध०सू० १।५।१-४

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The one known as *Ghorācārika* practising *niyamas* performs sacrifices for himself and not for others, studies the Veda himself but does not teach it to others, gives but does not receive alms and lives by gleaning ; devoted to the worship of Nārāyaṇa and offering sacrifices in the sacred fires both morning and evening and performing the sword-edge-vow (asidhārā vrata) during the months of Mārga-Śirṣa (November-December) and Jyeṣṭha (May-June). He performs homa in the sacred fire with faggots from the woods[1].

(2) *The Duties of a Householder*

The duties of a householder are to entertain the guests, to make suitable gifts on occasions (*vyaya* Pāṇ 1.3.36 ;[2] *upayoga*, 1.3.32[3]), perform the family sacrifices (*yajñas*) and offer due worship to the ancestors (Śrāddha, Pāṇ 4.3.12)[4].

(3) *The Panchamahāyajñas*

(*i*) *Sandhyā*—In the solitude of mountains and *confluence* of streams, a sage develops his spiritual force, contemplating on God through yoga.[5] O God ! we all come to you every-day in the morning as well as in the evening. We bow to you and worship you with all attention.[6] O All-pervading

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1. घोराचारिको नियमैर्युक्तो यजते न याजति, अधीते नाध्यापयति, ददाति न प्रतिगृह्णाति-इत्युञ्छ वृत्तिमुपजीवति नारायण पारायणः सायं प्रातरग्नि-होत्रं हुत्वा मार्गशीर्ष ज्येष्ठ मासयोरसिधारा व्रतं वनौषधिभिरग्निपरि-चरणं करोति ॥५॥ वैखानस ध०सू० १।५।५
2. संमान·····व्ययेषु नियः । पा० १।३।३६
3. गन्धन·····उपयोगेषु कृत्रः । पा० १।३।३२
4. श्राद्धे शरदः । पा० ४।३।१२
5. उपह्वरे गिरीणा ँ सङ्गमे च नदीनाम् ।
धिया विप्रो ऽअजायत ॥ यजु० २६।१५
6. उप त्वाग्ने दिवे-दिवे दोषावस्तर्धिया वयम् ।
नमो भरन्त एमसि ॥ साम० १।१।२।४

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God ! may my *laudation* reach Thee at the rising of the sun, at the time of the noon, at the approach of evening and even at the time of night ; Turn Thy favourable attention towards me.[1] Sages have attained long lives by doing *Sandhyā* for a long time.[2]

According to *Śadvinśa Brāhmaṇa*[3] and *Manu*, a house-holder, therefore, should perform his *Sandhyā* upāsanā (devotions) and Agnihotra (*homa*), daily at sunrise and sunset.[4]

Vasiṣtha states that whatever sins, in fact, in mind or by speech, may have been committed during the day, the man casts off by means of Breath-suspensions during the performance of the Evening Prayers; whatever sins..... during the night.....by Morning Prayers.[5]

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1. मम त्वा सूर उदिते मम मध्यन्दिने दिवः ।
मम प्रपित्वे अपि शर्वरे वसवा स्तोमासो अवृत्सत ॥ ऋ० ८।१।२६

2. ऋषयो दीर्घसन्ध्यत्वात् दीर्घमायुर् अवाप्नुयुः । महाभारत

3. तस्मादहोरात्रस्य संयोगे, ब्राह्मणः सन्ध्यामुपासीत ।
उद्यन्तमस्तं यान्त मादित्यमभिध्यायन् ॥ षड्विंश ब्रा० ४।५

4. पूर्वां सन्ध्यां जपंस्तिष्ठन्नैशमेनो व्यपोहति ।
पश्चिमां तु समासीनो मलं हन्ति दिवा कृतम् ॥१०२॥
न तिष्ठति तु यः पूर्वां नोपास्ते यस्तु पश्चिमाम् ।
स शूद्रवद् बहिष्कार्यः सर्वस्माद् द्विजकर्मणः ॥१०३॥
अपां समीपे नियतो नैत्यकं विधिमास्थितः ।
सावित्रीमप्यधीयीत गत्वारण्यं समाहितः ॥१०४॥
मनु० २।१०२-१०४

5. कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यदह्ना कृतमेनसम् ।
आसीनः पश्चिमां सन्ध्यां प्राणायामैर्व्यपोहति ॥२॥
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यद् रात्र्या कृतमेनसम् ।
उत्तिष्ठन्पूर्वसन्ध्यां तु प्राणायामैर्व्यपोहति ॥३॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० २६।२-३

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According to *Baudhāyana*, the morning prayers should be offered by one, seated facing the East; it may be begun before sunrise, but it should be completed as soon as the sun has risen. The evening prayers should be begun before sunset; it may be completed later on.[1]

The religious king would certainly entrust the duties of Śūdras to those Brāhmaṇas who do not perform *Sandhyā* everyday in the morning and evening. Sins committed by different parts of the body will be removed by the prayers done in the morning and in the evening.[2]

Vaikhānasa states that practising *prāṇāyāma* and doing *prāṇāyāma* thrice or once, being pure and reciting *Sāvitrī* a hundred or ten or eight times and performing *Sandhyā vandanam* both morning and evening, he wipes away sins committed during both night and day. A person of the twice-born castes, who does not perform *Sandhyā* becomes equal to a Śūdra.[3]

The *Gautama Dharma Sūtra states* that a house-holder should worship gods, manes, men, goblins and Ṛṣis.

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1. एवमेव प्रातः प्राङ् मुखस्तिष्ठन् ॥१३॥
सुपूर्वामपि पूर्वामुपक्रम्योदित आदित्ये समाप्नुयात् ॥१५॥
अनस्तमित उपक्रम्य सुपश्चादपि पश्चिमाम् ॥१६॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।४।१३, १५-१६

2. सायं प्रातः सदा सन्ध्यां ये विप्रा नो उपासते ।
कामं तान् धार्मिको राजा शूद्रकर्मसु योजयेदिति ॥२०॥
यदुपस्थकृतं पापं पद्भ्यां वा यत्कृतं भवेत् ।
बाहुभ्यां मनसा वाऽपि वाचा वा यत्कृतं भवेत् ॥२५॥
सायं संन्ध्यामुपस्थाय तेन तस्मात् प्रमुच्यते ॥२६॥
बौधायन ध० सू० २।४।२०, २५, २६

3. सप्राणायामस्त्रीनेकं वा प्राणायामं कृत्वा पूतः शतं दशाष्टौ वा सावित्रीं जप्त्वा सायं प्रातः सन्ध्यामुपास्य नैशिकमाह्निकं चैनोऽपमृज्यते ॥४॥
द्विजातिः सन्ध्योपासनहीनः शूद्रसमो भवति ॥५॥
वैखानस ध० सू० २।१०।४, ५

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Everyday, he should recite privately a portion of the Veda and the daily libation of water to the manes is obligatory on him. Other rites than these, he may perform according to his ability. The sacred fire must be kindled on his marriage or on the division of the family estate. The domestic ceremonies must be performed with the aid of that fire, the sacrifices to the gods, manes and men and the private recitation and the *Bali*-offerings. The oblations thrown into the sacred fire at the *Vaiśvadeva* sacrifice are offered to *Agni*, *Dhanvantari*, all the gods, *Prajāpati* and *Agni Sviṣṭakṛt*; and *Bali*-offerings must be given to the deities presiding over the eightpoints of the horizon, in their respective places, at the doors of the house to the *Maruts*, to the deities of the dwelling inside the house, to *Brahman* in the centre of the house, to the waters near the waterpot, to the *Ether* in the air, and to the beings walking about at night in the evening.[1] A gift of food shall be preceded by a libation of water and it shall be presented after the recipient has been made to say, "May welfare attend thee," and the same rule applies to all

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1. देव पितृ मनुष्य ऋषिभूत पूजकः ॥३॥
नित्यस्वाध्यायः ॥४॥
पितृभ्यश्चोदकदानम् ॥५॥
यथोत्साहमन्यत् ॥६॥
भार्यादिरग्निर्दायादि र्वा ॥७॥
तस्मिन् गृह्याणि ॥८॥
देवपितृमनुष्ययज्ञाः स्वाध्यायश्च ॥९॥
बलिकर्म ॥१०॥
अग्नावग्नि र्धन्वन्तरि र्विश्वे देवा प्रजापतिः स्विष्टकृदिति होमाः ॥११॥
दिग्देवताभ्यश्च यथा स्वम् ॥१२॥
द्वार्षु मरुदभ्यः ॥१३॥
गृहदेवताभ्यः प्रविश्य ॥१४॥
ब्रह्मणे मध्ये ॥१५॥
अद्भ्य उदकुम्भे ॥१६॥
गौतम ध० सू० ५।३-१६

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gifts presented for the sake of spiritual merit. The reward of a gift offered to a non-Brāhmaṇa should be equal to the value of the gift, those of presents given to a Brāhmaṇa two-fold, to a *Śrotṛya* thousandfold, to one who knows the whole Veda (*vedapāragaḥ*) endless. Presents of money must be given outside the *Vedi* to persons begging for their Gurus, or in order to defrey the expenses of their wedding, or to procure medicine for the sick, to those who are without means of subsistence, to those who are going to offer a sacrifice, to those engaged in study, to travellers and to those who have performed the *Viśvajit* sacrifice. Prepared food must be given to other beggars. For an unlawful purpose, he shall not give anything, though he may have promised it. Before a householder eats, he shall feed his guests, the infants, the sick people, the pregnant women, the females under his protection, the very aged men, and those of low condition, who may be in his house.[1]

Vasiṣtha holds that a householder should wash his feet and hands upto the wrist and with his face towards the east or north, thrice sip water out of the *Brahmatirtha*, without uttering any sound, and twice wash the lips with water ; should touch the holes with water and should sprinkle water on the head.

The Brāhmaṇa is purified by bubble-free and foamless water reaching his heart ; the Kṣatriya by it reaching the

1. आकाशायेत्यन्तरिक्षे ॥१७॥
नक्तं चरेभ्यश्च सायम् ॥१८॥
स्वस्ति वाच्य भिक्षा दानमप्पूर्वम् ॥१९॥
ददातिषु चैवं धर्म्येषु ॥२०॥
सम द्विगुण सहस्रानन्तानि फलान्य ब्राह्मण
ब्राह्मण श्रोत्रिय वेद पारगेभ्यः ॥२१॥
गुर्वर्थं निवेशौषधार्थं वृत्ति क्षीणयक्ष्यमाणाध्ययनाध्व
संयोग वैश्वजितेषु द्रव्यसंविभागो बहिर्वेदि ॥२२॥
भिक्षमाणेषु कृत्तान्न मितरेषु ॥२३॥
प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्मसंयुक्ते न दद्यात् ॥२४॥
गौतम ध० सू० ५।१७-२४

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throat; the Vaiśya by water actually drunk; the woman and the Śūdra by merely touching it. Drops of saliva falling from the mouth, which do not touch a limb of the body, do not make a man impure. If, after having sipped water, he sleeps, eats, sneezes, drinks, weeps or bathes or puts on a dress, he must again sip water. Anything defiled by unclean substances becomes pure when the stains and the smell have been removed by water and earth. He shall perform the purification with water and earth. For purification, the Brāhmaṇa shall take earth mixed with *gravel* from the river-bank. He shall not be *fickle* with his hands and feet, nor with his eyes, nor with his limbs, such should be the conduct of the cultured.[1]

Having offered his share to the learned guest or to the religious student, he shall make the offering to the *Pitṛs*. It is *Vaiśvanara* that enters the household as a Brāhmaṇa

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1. प्राग्वोदग्वाऽऽसीनः प्रक्षाल्य पादौ पाणी चाऽऽमणि बन्धनात् ॥२८॥
अङ्गुष्ठमूलस्योत्तरतो रेखा ब्राह्मं तीर्थं तेन
त्रिराचामेत् शब्दवत् द्विः — (दोषावद्भिः) परिमृज्यात् ॥२९॥
खान्यद्भिः संस्पृशेत् ॥३०॥
हृदयङ्गमाभिरद्भिरबुद्बुदाभिरफेनाभिर्ब्राह्मणः
कण्ठगाभिः क्षत्रियः शुचिः ॥३३॥
वैश्योऽद्भिः प्राशिताभिस्तु स्त्रीशूद्रं स्पृष्टाभिरेव च ॥३४॥
न मुख्या विप्रुष उच्छिष्टं कुर्वन्त्यनङ्गश्लिष्टाः ॥३७॥
सुप्त्वा भुक्त्वा पीत्वा क्षुत्वा रुदित्वा स्नात्वा
चाऽऽचान्तः पुनराचामेत् ॥३८॥
लेपगन्धापकर्षणे शौचमेध्य लिप्तस्याद्भिर्मृदा च ॥४७॥
उभे मूत्रपुरीषे तु दिवा कुर्यादुदङ् मुखः।
रात्रौ कुर्याद् दक्षिणास्य एवं ह्यायुर्न हीयते ॥१०॥
उद्धृताभिरद्भिः कार्यं कुर्यात्स्नान मनुद्धृताभिरपि ॥१४॥
आहरेन्मृत्तिकां विप्रः कूलात्ससिकतां तथा ॥१५॥
न पाणिपाद चपलो न नेत्र चपलो भवेत्।
न चाङ्ग चपलो विप्र इति शिष्टस्य गोचरः ॥३८॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ३।२८-३०, ३३, ३४, ३७, ३८, ४७;
६।१०, १४, १५, ३८

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guest; hence they offer him water and food; thereby attaining peace and satisfaction extending over one year. He shall not associate with a woman with dirty clothes; nor with one in her menses; nor with one who is unfit. Both urinating, and stooling, he should do facing the north during the day; and the south during the night. Thus is life not cut short. Urination should not be made in a river. With head wrapped up, placing on the ground such grass as is not sacrificial, he shall urinate and pass stool. He should not blow the fire with his mouth. Not between two fires, nor between two Brāhmaṇas, nor with his wife, should one eat; by so doing, one obtains offspring devoid of *virility*; this we learn from the *Vājasneya* texts. He should not eat food on his lap, nor seated on a stool, nor at the time of prayer. He should not cross the river with his arms.[1]

Baudhāyana states that thrice he should sip water, reaching the heart, not laughing, not talking, not standing, not looking this way and that, not stooping, not bowing

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1. श्रोत्रियायाऽऽगताय भागं दत्त्वा ब्रह्मचारिणे वाऽनन्तरं पितृभ्यो दद्यात् ॥४॥
वैश्वानरः प्रविशत्यतिथि ब्राह्मणो गृहं तस्मादप आनयन्त्यन्नं वर्षाभ्यस्तां हि शान्ति जना विदुरिति ॥१२॥
न मलिनवाससा सह संवसेत, न रजस्वलाया, नायोग्यया, न कुलं कुलं स्यात् ॥४॥
उभे मूत्रपुरीषे तु दिवा कुर्यादुदङ् मुखः।
रात्रौ कुर्याद् दक्षिणास्य एवं ह्यायुर्न हीयते ॥१०॥
नाप्सु मूत्रपुरीषे कुर्यात् ॥८॥
परिवेष्ठित शिरा भूमि मयज्ञियैस्तृणैरन्तर्धाय मूत्रपुरीषे कुर्यात् ॥१०॥
नाग्निं मुखेनोपधमेत् ॥२७॥
नाग्न्योर्न ब्राह्मणयोर (न) नु ज्ञाप्य वा, भार्यया सह नाश्नीया दवीर्यवदपत्यं भवतीति वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते ॥२६॥
नोत्सङ्गे भक्षयेन्न संध्यायां भुञ्जीत ॥३३॥
बाहुभ्यां न नदीं तरेत् ॥४३॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ११।४, १२; १२।४; ६।१०; १२।८, १०, २७, २६, ३३, ४३

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down, not having his *Śikhā* untied, with throat not covered; nor with head covered, not in a hurry, not without the sacred thread, not spreading out his feet, with the end of his lower garment not tucked into the waist-band, with arms not outside the knees, without making any sound; and he should wash thrice; twice, according to some. He should offer food to *Śrotriya*. Without giving to others, he should never eat food. (Says the food)—"He who eats me, without having made offerings to Pitṛs, Gods, dependants, guests and to friends, eats through foolishness, poison, and him I devour; for him I am death. He who eats me after having made the *Agnihotra*-offerings and the *Vaiśvadeva*-offerings and after having honoured the guests and fed his dependants, content, clean and reverential for him, I am nectar."[1]

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1. नाङ्गुलीभि र्न स बुद्बुदाभि र्न सफेनाभि र्नोष्णाभि र्न क्षाराभि र्न लवणाभि र्न कलुषाभि र्न विवर्णाभि र्न दुर्गन्धरसाभि र्न हसन्न जल्पन्न तिष्ठन्न विलोकयन्न प्रह्वो न प्रणतो न मुक्त शिखो न प्रावृत्त कण्ठो न वेष्टित शिरा न त्वरमाणो नायज्ञोपवीती न प्रसारितपादो न बद्धकक्ष्यो न बहिर्जानुः शब्दमकुर्वंस्त्रिरपो हृदयंगमाः पिबेत् ॥१६॥
त्रिः परिमृजेत् ॥२०॥
द्विरित्येके ॥२१॥
शुष्कं तृणमयाज्ञिकं काष्ठं लोष्ठं वा तिरस्कृत्याहो रात्रयोरुदग्दक्षिणामुखः प्रावृत्य शिरा उच्चरेद वमेहेद्वा ॥७६॥
श्रोत्रियाय वाऽग्रं दद्यात् ॥१८॥
न त्वेव कदाचिददत्त्वा भुञ्जीत ॥२०॥
यो मामदत्त्वा पितृदेवताभ्यो भृत्यातिथीनां च सुहृज्जनस्य संपन्नमश नन्विषमत्ति मोहात्तमद्भ्यहं तस्य च मृत्युरस्मि ॥२२॥

बौधायन ध० सू० १।५।१६-२१, ७६; २।३।१८, २०, २२

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He should not use hard and harsh words, rude and rough language and cruel and unpolished speech. He should not go on a journey alone. He should not mix with out-casts, women and Śūdras. He should not bathe naked, nor bathe at night. He should not cross the river with his arms. At the commencement of the performance of all acts, as also before the Twilight Prayers, one should sprinkle himself with the sanctifying blades and thereby prepare himself; to this effect it is declared that seated on Kuśā blades, holding Kuśā blades in the hand, sprinkling himself with water, one should repeat the *Gāyatrī* a thousand times —being purified with three Breath-suspensions.[1] These are the five Great Sacrifices, these, also, are the Great Sacrificial Sessions: Sacrifice to Gods, sacrifice to Pitṛs, sacrifice to Elementals, sacrifice to men, sacrifice to the Veda; day after day, he shall offer Svāhā, ending with the supplying of fuel, in this manner, does he accomplish the sacrifice to Gods; day after day, he shall offer Svadhā, ending with the water-offering,—in this manner he accomplishes the sacrifice to Pitṛs; day after day, he shall bow down to the Elementals, ending with the offering of flowers, –in this manner, he accomplishes the

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1. शुष्का रूक्षाः परुषा वाचो न ब्रूयात् ॥४७॥
नैकोऽध्वानं व्रजेत् ॥४८॥
न पतितैः न स्त्रिया न शूद्रेण ॥४९॥
न नग्नः स्नायात् ॥५१॥
न नक्तं स्नायात् ॥५२॥
न नदीं बाहुकस्तरेत् ॥५३॥
सर्वकर्मणां चैवाऽऽरम्भेषु प्राक्सन्ध्योपासन
कालाच्चैतेनैव पवित्रसमूहेनाऽऽत्मानं ॥५॥
दर्भेष्वासीनोदर्मान्धारयमाणः सोदकेन पाणिना
प्रत्यङ्मुखः सावित्रीं सहस्रकृत्व आवर्तयेत् ॥७॥
प्राणायामशो वा शतकृत्वः ॥८॥

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sacrifice to the Elements ; day after day, he shall offer food to Brāhmaṇas, ending with the offering of roots, fruits and vegetables, in this manner, he accomplishes the sacrifice of Men ; day after day, he shall carry on Vedic study, ending witd the *Praṇava*,—in this manner, he accomplishes the sacrifice to the Veda. The householder should recite *Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ* first and then should eat. He should face towards east, when he is to take his meals and he should keep quiet and should not point out the defects and shortcomings in the eatables. One would eat the sins of others, who eats alone. He should first feed the guests, then the youngsters, the aged, the poor beggars and especially the sick persons. If he eats his food without giving to others, then he eats nothing, rather is eaten up by others.[1]

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अथ पञ्च महायज्ञाः ॥१॥

तान्येव महासत्राणि ॥२॥

देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति ॥३॥

अहरह स्वाहा कुर्यादा काष्ठात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समाप्नोति ॥४॥

अहरहः स्वधा कुर्यादोदपात्रात्तथैतं पितृयज्ञं समाप्नोति ॥५॥

अहरह र्नमस्कुर्यादापुष्पेभ्यस्तथैतं भूतयज्ञं समाप्नोति ॥६॥

बौधायन ध० सू० २।३।४७-४९, ५१-५३; २।४।५, ७, ८; २।६।१-६]

1. अहरह ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽन्नं दद्यादा मूल फलशाकेभ्यस्तथैतं मनुष्य यज्ञं समाप्नोति ॥७॥

अहरहः स्वाध्यायं कुर्यादाप्रणवात्तथैतं ब्रह्मयज्ञं समाप्नोति ॥८॥

भूर्भुवः स्वरोमिति जपित्वा पुनरेव भुञ्जीत ॥९॥

आसीनः प्राङ्मुखो ऽग्नीयाद्वाग्यतोऽन्नमकुत्सयन् ॥१०॥

केवलाघो भवति केवलादी ॥२३॥

अग्रे भोजयेदतिथीन् बाल वृद्धांस्तथा

दीनान्व्याधितांश्च विशेषतः ॥२७॥

अदत्त्वा तु य एतेभ्यः पूर्वं भुंक्ते,···न स भुङ्क्ते स भुज्यते ॥२८॥

बौधायन ध० सू० २।६।७-८; २।७।६, ९, २३, २७, २८

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Āpastamba states that by way of laudation, they are called "great sacrifices", or "great sacrificial sessions". These rites include: The daily *Bali*-offering to the seven classes of beings; the daily gift of food to men according to one's power; the oblation to the gods accompanied by the exclamation *Svāhā*, which may consist even of a piece of wood only; the offering to the *Manes* accompanied by the exclamation *Svadhā*, which may consist even of a vessel with water only; the daily recitation.[1] At the *Vaiśvadeva* sacrifice he shall offer the oblations with his hand, throwing them into the kitchen-fire or into the sacred *Gṛhya*-fire and reciting each time one of the first six Mantras prescribed in the *Nārāyaṇī Upaniṣad*. With the seventh and eighth Mantras, *Balis* must be offered to *Dharma* and *Adharma* behind the fire and must be placed the one to the north of the other. At night only he shall offer the *Bali* to the goblins, throwing it into the air and reciting the last Mantra. He shall give food to his guests first and to infants, old or sick people, female relations and pregnant women. The master of the house and his wife shall not refuse a man who asks for food at the time when the *Vaiśvadeva* offering has been performed. If there is no food, earth, water, grass and a kind word, indeed, never fail in the house of a good man. Thus say those who know the law.[2] He is called a *Śrotriya* who,

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1. तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्राणीति संस्तुतिः ॥१४॥
अहरह र्भूत बलिर् मनुष्येभ्यो यथा शक्ति दानम् ॥१५॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।४।१२।१४-१५

2. देवेभ्यः स्वाहाकार आ काष्ठात् पितृभ्यः
स्वधाकार ओदपात्रात् स्वाध्याय इति ॥१॥
औपासने पचने वा पड्भिराद्यैः
प्रतिमन्त्रं हस्तेन जुहुयात् ॥१६॥
अपरेणाग्निं सप्तमाष्टमाभ्याम् उदगपर्वगम् ॥२०॥

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observing the law of studentship has learnt one recension of the Veda, which may be current in his family. He is called a guest, who, being a *Śrotriya*, approaches solely for the fulfilment of his religious duties, and with no other object, a householder who lives intent on the fulfilment of his duties. The reward for honouring such a guest is immunity from misfortunes and heavenly bliss. He shall go to meet such a person, honour him according to his age by the formulae of salvation prescribed and cause a seat to be given to him. A guest who can repeat the Veda together with the supplementary books is worthy to receive a cow and the *Madhuparka*. All gifts are to be preceded by pouring out water. The division of the food must be made in such a manner that those who receive daily portions (slaves) do not suffer by it. At his pleasure, he may stint himself, his wife or his children, but by no means a slave who does his work, and he must not stint himself so much that he becomes unable to perform his duties.[1] The

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नक्तमेवोत्तमेन वैहायसम् ॥८॥
अतिथीनेवाग्रे भोजयेत् ॥११॥
बालान् वृद्धान् रोग संबन्धान् स्त्री चान्तर्वत्नीः ॥१२॥
काले स्वामिना वन्नार्थिनं न प्रत्याचक्षीयाताम् ॥१३॥
एतानि वै सतोगारे न क्षीयन्ते कदाचनेति ॥१४॥

आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।४।१३।१; २।२।३।१६, २०; २।२।४।८, ११-१४]

1. धर्मेण वेदानामेकैकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियो भवति ॥४॥
स्वधर्म युक्तं कुटुम्बिनमभ्यागच्छति धर्म पुरस्कारो नान्य प्रयोजनः सोतिथिर् भवति ॥५॥
तस्य पूजायां शान्तिः स्वर्गश्च ॥६॥
तमभिमुखोऽभ्यागम्य यथावयः समेत्य तस्यासनमाहारयेत् ॥७॥
गोमधुपर्काहों वेदाध्यायः ॥५॥
सर्वाणि उदक पूर्वाणि दानानि ॥८॥

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reasons for which begging is permissible are the desire to collect the fee for the teacher, the celebration of a wedding or of a *Śrauta*-sacrifice, the desire to keep one's father and mother, and the impending interruption of ceremonies performed by a worthy man. The person asked for alms must examine the qualities of the petitioner and give according to his power, but if persons ask for alms for the sake of sensual gratification, that is improper; he shall not take heed of that.[1]

Vaikhānasa states that after taking a wife and even after thus becoming a householder, one should, observing *niyamas* and performing *upāsanā*, *pākayajñas* after *Vaiśvadeva* homa, receive and saluting, offer seats and water for washing feet and sipping (*ācamana*) to the teacher who has come to his house and the religious student who is entering the householder's stage; also, after giving them *madhuparka* (a mixture of curd, ghee, milk, honey or water), he feeds them with cooked rice and other things according to his ability.[2] Possessing kindness, being truthful and observing the customary practices, he should satisfy the *Ṛṣis* by the recitation of the Veda and by oblations of water; the

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ये नित्या भाक्तिकास्तेषामनुपरोधेन संविभागो विहितः ॥१०॥
काममात्मानं मार्यां पुत्रं वोपरुन्ध्यान्न त्वेव दासकर्म करम् ॥११॥
तथा चात्मनोनुपरोधं कुर्याद् यथा कर्म स्वसमर्थः स्यात् ॥१२॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।३।६।४-७; २।४।८।५; २।४।९।८, १०-१२]

1. भिक्षणे निमित्त माचार्यो विवाहो यज्ञो मातापित्रो
बुंभूर्षा र्हतश्च नियम विलोपः ॥१॥
तत्र गुणान्समीक्ष्य यथा शक्ति देयम् ॥२॥
इन्द्रिय प्रीत्यर्थस्य तु भिक्षणमनिमित्तम्। न तदाद्रियेत् ॥३॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।५।१०।१-३

2. दारान् संगृह्य गृहस्थोऽपि स्नानादि नियमाचारो नित्यमौपासनं हुत्वा पाकयज्ञयाजी वैश्वदेवहोमान्ते गृहागतं गुरुं स्नातकं च प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद्यासनपाद्याचमनानि प्रदाय मधुना तोयेन वा दधिघृतक्षीर मिश्रं मधुपर्कं च दत्वा न्नाद्यैर् यथाशक्ति भोजयति ॥१॥
वैखानस ध० सू० १।४।१

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gods, by performing homa and offering things like water, and flowers ; the father's Pitṛs by *Śrāddhas* and by begetting sons ; living creatures by offering *bali* ; and human beings by giving cooked rice, etc., freed from the three debts, he becomes debtless. The householder should wear two sacrificial cords, a bamboo staff and a water-pot. Having bathed, he should perform with his wife the rites relating to the household in the *Gṛhya* fire and Vedic rites in Śrauta fires. With feet which are wet or with head pointing towards west or north one should not sleep. One should not eat with one's own wife. One should avoid telling untruth, for, there is no greater sin than untruth and no greater merit than truth. Friend of all living beings, one should live without hatred or injury to any of them, possessing pure things, one should have grain stored in granaries sufficient for consumption for three years, or grain stores[1] sufficient for a year or six months or possess only as much

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1. दयासत्य शौचाचार युतः स्वाध्याय तर्पणाभ्यामृषीन्,
यज्ञ बलिहोम जलपुष्पाद्यै र्देवान्, श्राद्धैः पत्रैश्च
पितॄन्, बलिना भूतान्, अन्नाद्यैर् मनुष्यांश्च नित्यं तर्पयेत् ॥४॥
ऋणत्रयै र्मुक्तो ऽनृणी भवति ॥५॥
वैखानस ध० सू० १।४।४-५

गृहस्थाश्रमी द्वे यज्ञोपवीते वैणवं दण्डं कमाण्डलुं च धारयेत् ॥१॥
स्नात्वा सभार्यो गृह्याग्नौ ग्राह्याणि कर्माणि श्रौतानि कुर्यात् ॥२॥
सायं च होमान्ते ऽतियीनभ्यागतान् प्राशयित्वा ॥३॥
मितं प्राश्य पत्न्या शयीत् ॥४॥
आर्द्रपादः प्रत्य गुत्तरशिरा श्च न स्वपिति ॥८॥
भार्यया सह नाश्नाति
असत्यवादं वर्जयति, ॥१०॥
असत्यात् परं पापं सत्यात् परोधर्मश्च नास्ति ॥११॥
सर्वप्राणिहितोऽद्रोहेणैव जीवेत् ॥१२॥
शुद्धार्थवान् कुसूल धान्यः कुम्भीधान्यो अश्वस्तनिको वा स्यात् ॥१२॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१।१-४, ८, १०-१२

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grains as are sufficient for another day's consumption. A man belonging to the twice-born castes should not touch a fallen man or one of low birth. One should not look at the sun at morning and evening times.[1]

Regulations relating to social behaviour

Vaikhānasa states that the road should be yielded to Snātakas, teachers, excellent men, men suffering from disease, bearers of burdens and pregnant women. By wind and rays of the sun the roads are purified. Seats and couches belonging to others should not be used, ungiven. If such be given and they are used, he (the user) loses one-fourth of his merit. One should not wear clothes, garlands, shoes and umbrella used by another. One should not dry one's feet at a fire. One should not blow upon it (the fire) through his mouth, should not touch it with one's feet and should not keep it below one's feet.[2]

One should not cast fire or water, urine, stools, pus, blood, semen, phlegm, saliva and other matter that comes out of organs, into fire. One should not look at the wife of another man when she is either naked or when she is passing stools or urine. One should not look at Gods, sun, moon, planets and stars, being impure on account of touching anything unclean. One should not cross the shadow of

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1. द्विजातिः पतितान्त्यजातान् न स्पृशेत् ॥१३॥
उदयेऽस्तमये च सूर्यं नेक्षेत ॥१४॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१।१३-१४

2. स्नातक राजगुरु श्रेष्ठ रोगिभारभृदन्तर्वत्नीनां पन्था देयः ॥ १॥
दिनकररश्मिभिः पन्थानः शुध्यन्ति ॥ २॥
परस्यासनशयनान्यददत्तानि नोपयुञ्जीत ॥ ३॥
दत्तेष्वपयुक्तेषु स्वपुण्यचतुर्थांशो जहाति ॥ ४॥
अन्योपयुक्तानि वस्त्रमाल्योपानच्छत्राणि नैव धारयेत् ॥ ५॥
अग्नौ पादं न तापयेत् ॥ ६॥
नैनं मुखेन धमेत्, न पादेन स्पृशेत्, अधः पादे न कुर्यात् ॥ ७॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।२।१-७

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Gods, teachers, Snātakas, men consecrated for the performance of a sacred rite, kings, cows and good men. One should not show a rainbow to another and should not talk of it. One should not wake up a sleeping man. One should not go alone along a road. One should not drive away a cow grazing in the field of another (*i.e.* not belonging to the owner of the cow), or feeding its calf, nor should he speak of it (*i.e.* the fact of the cow straying into the field of another).[1] The clothes should be neither torn nor dirty (*i.e.* one should not wear torn or dirty clothes). One should avoid play with dice, the smoke from a funeral pile, and the morning sun. One should not stand upon hair belonging to the head and the body, chaff, fire, skulls, bones, excrement, urine, pus, blood, semen, phlegm, saliva. When one's limbs are smeared with faeces, one should wash them with mud and water till all traces as well as its smell disappear. One should not live in the neighbourhood of the fallen, the low-born, the foolish, the unrighteous and one's own enemies. One should not touch, when he is unclean, Gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas and fire. One should not abuse or insult the Gods, the Vedas, kings, teachers, mother and father, and scholarly Brāhmaṇas. One who insults or abuses them perishes. One should not do harm to or beat

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1. अग्नावग्निं जलं वा देवालयेऽग्नौ जले च मूत्रपुरीषपूय-
शोणितरेतः श्लेष्मोच्छिष्टाङ्गं निष्पेषान् न प्रक्षिपेत् ॥ ८॥
नग्नां परस्त्रियं विण्मूत्रे च न पश्येत् ॥ ९॥
उच्छिष्टो देवार्कचन्द्रग्रह नक्षत्र तारा नेक्षेत ॥१०॥
देवगुरुस्नातक दीक्षित राजगोश्रेष्ठानां छायां नाक्रामति ॥११॥
इन्द्रधनुः परस्मै न दर्शयेत्, न वदेत् ॥१२॥
स्वपन्तं नावबोधयति ॥१३॥
एकोऽध्वानं न गच्छेत् ॥१४॥
पर क्षेत्रे चरन्तीं गां धयन्सं वत्सं च न वारयेत् नैवाचक्षीत ॥१५॥
जीर्णमलवासा न स्यात् ॥१६॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।२।८-१६

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any animal. One should not dispute with one's teachers, parents, their parents and such like, brothers, father's brothers, maternal uncles, and such like. The purity of one's possessions, the purity of one's women-folk, the purity of one's food should be the best amongst the purities of a person, and the carbuncles among his possessions.[1]

The social and public duties of the householders come under two categories, daily and occasional. They are described under four groups of sacrifices (*yajñas*) in the true sense of the term. The first group of five comprises the (i) Brahma-yajña (ii) Deva-yajña (iii) Pitṛ-yajña (iv) Mānuṣya-yajña and (v) Bhūta-yajña.

(i) The first of these is a mere prayer made by the recitation of the *Sāvitrī* hymn which is designated here by the generic epithet of *Brahma*, which means the vedic hymn. The *Sāvitrī* hymn to which one is first initiated at the initiation (upanayana) sacrament and on which one has to meditate during the whole course of the student life

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1. अक्षैः क्रीडां प्रेत द्यूतं बालातपं च वर्जयेत् ॥१॥
केशरोम तुषाङ्गार कपालास्थिविण्मूत्र पूयशोणितरेतः श्लेमोच्छिष्टान् नाधितिष्ठेत् ॥२॥
अमेध्यलिप्ताङ्गो यावल्लेप गन्धेन शङ्का न स्यात्, तावन्मृत्तोयैः शोधयेत् ॥३॥
पतितान्त्यजमूर्खा धार्मिकवैरिभिः सार्धं न वसेत् ॥४॥
उच्छिष्टो ऽशुचिर्वा देवगो विप्राग्नीन् न स्पृशेत् ॥५॥
देवान् वेदान् राजगुरु माता पितॄन् विद्वद् ब्राह्मणान् नावमन्येत्, न निन्देत्, अवमन्ता निन्दकश्च विनश्यति ॥६॥
सर्वभूत कुत्सां ताडनं च न कुर्वीत ॥७॥
गुरुणा माता पितृभ्यां तत् पित्राद्यै भ्रातृ पितृभ्रातृ-मातुला चार्यत्विगाद्यै विवादं नाचरेत् ॥८॥
सर्वशुद्धिषु पुरुषस्यार्थशुद्धिः स्त्रीशुद्धि रत्न शुद्धिश्च श्रेष्ठतमा स्यात्, द्रव्येषु रत्नानि ॥९॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।३।१-९

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is continued to the household life. It provides one with the strength of mind which naturally follows from seeking god's mercy to get the enlightening excellent lustre of the all-creating sun god and the power of intelligence and understanding for the successful performance of a householder's responsible duties of various kinds.

(ii) Next to this highest creator, the gods who are the manifestations of the various aspects of the creator are prayed by making the offering of melted butter to the fire, the carrier of oblations. This offering is made jointly by the husband and wife as long as they are alive and able to keep alive the nuptial fire. When one of the couple dies, this nuptial fire is used in burning the dead body. The romantic idea of joint daily duty of a married couple can hardly be better demonstrated.

(iii) The Pitṛ-yajñas are the oblations (*tarpaṇa*) of water and offering of cooked and uncooked food made daily to the manes or spirits of the deceased ancestors. This is an instance of the habit of ancestor worship. In fact, the faith in God starts from such practice of parental worship.

(iv) The fourth of the house-holder's daily sacrifice is known as Mānuṣya-yajña (charity towards human beings). This is the daily hospitality to be shown to guests other than the relations who form the joint family. These guests are generally Brāhmaṇa travellers, monks, mendicants, religion-seekers and helpless beggars, who do not earn for their own maintenance.

Thus, the individual families of householders served as a sort of alms-houses and charitable homes and relieved the state of the responsibility of making separate provision for such people. It is emphasized that all the four āśramas (students, householders, retired people and mendicants) could exist because of these daily sacrifices of the house-holders ; they are like air without which no creature can

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sustain life. No easier solution of the problem of feeding the unearning people can be thought of.

(v) The last of the great five sacrifices is known as Bhūta-yajña (charity towards animals, birds and insects). The object is to offer food daily to all created beings including cows, bulls, tame birds, ants and insects.

The householder is expected to respect life wherever it may be and to assist in the continuance of God's creation. The philosophical idea involved in this custom is praise-worthy.

Taittiriya Āraṇyaka[1] enumerates the five yajñas, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti.[2]

Duty to the learned persons, to nature, to animals, to guests and to parents, let a man constantly do to the best of his power. Every man has invariably to do worship of God. *Havya*, oblations to the fire, service to the elders, compassion on animals and hospitality to guests.

A true *Gṛhastha* or Householder should sit at prayer every evening and morning. He should honour only the truly learned and no hypocrites, bigots, sophists. He should rise early and be regular and punctual in the daily routine. He should pick no quarrel with the superiors, the

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1. पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति सन्तिष्ठन्ते
देव यज्ञः पितृ यज्ञो भूत यज्ञो मनुष्य यज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः ॥
तै० आ० २।१०।७

2. पञ्च क्लृप्ता महायज्ञाः प्रत्यहं गृहमेधिनाम् ॥ मनु ३।६९
ऋषियज्ञं देवयज्ञं भूतयज्ञं च सर्वदा ।
नृयज्ञं पितृयज्ञं च यथाशक्ति न हापयेत् ॥ मनु० ४।२१
अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।
होमो दैवो बलिर्भौतो नृ यज्ञोऽतिथि पूजनम् ॥ मनु० ३।७०
स्वाध्यायेनार्चयेदृषीन् होमैर्देवान् यथाविधि ।
पितृन् श्राद्धैश्चान्नै र्भूतानि बलि कर्मणा ॥ मनु० ३।८१

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preceptor, instructor, maternal uncle, guest, dependant, child, the aged, sick, doctor, relative, father-in-law, friend, mother, father, sister, brother, wife, daughter, and servant. He should avoid the company of the adulterers, butchers, misanthropes, hypocrites and traitors.

Every action, however small, has its cosmic repercussion, as a stone flung on water causes ripples and circles. The inter-connection existing between all beings and all things in the Universe is similar. It establishes obligations to all those who are contemporaries, human, superhuman or sub-human, which must also be discharged. This is the basis of the duty to make daily the five great sacrifices (*pañca-mahā-yajñas*) *viz.*, to the gods (*deva*), to the sages (*Brahma*), to the ancestors (*pitṛs*), to all living creatures super-human and sub-human (*Bhūta*), and to fellow-men (*nara-yajña*). They are also expiatory and are regarded as cleansing one from the sins or offences committed in the "five slaughter-houses" (*pañca-sūnā*)[1] of the hearth, of the grinding stones, the broom, the pestle and the water vessel.

The sacrifice to ancestors is in the form of libations of water, with appropriate mantras, to 'Brahman' in the form of studying and teaching the Veda, to the gods in the form of oblation offered in the fire, to the lower spirits (*Bhūta*) in gifts of food (*bali*) and to follow-men in the form of hospitality. In addition to this, he has to perform the rite to the "universal divinities" (*Vaiśvadeva*). It consists in giving food to the lowest of the low among human beings,

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1. पञ्च सूना गृहस्थस्य चुल्ली पेषण्युपस्करः ।
कण्डनी चोदकुम्भश्च बध्यते यास्तु वाहयन् ॥ मनु० ३।६८
तासां क्रमेण सर्वासां निष्कृत्यर्थं महर्षिभिः ।
पञ्च क्लृप्ता महायज्ञाः प्रत्यहं गृहमेधिनाम् ॥ मनु० ३।६९
पंचैतान् यो महायज्ञान्न हापयति शक्तितः ।
स गृहेऽपि वसन्नित्यं सूना दोषैर्न लिप्यते ॥ मनु० ३।७१

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and to beasts and birds. Kinship transcends species, space and time.

"He prayeth best who loveth best
Both man and bird and beast."

Teaching and studying the Veda is the duty to the sages ; supplying of food and water to them, the duty to parents ; oblations to fire—the duty to nature ; giving rice and other food to living creatures—the duty to animals ; and receiving guests with honour—the duty to guests. "Let him honour the sages, by studying the Veda ; purify air and water by oblations to the fire ordained by *law* ; honour the parents by pious service, guests by supplying them with food and all animated creatures with gifts of food."

(*i*) *Ṛṣiyajña*—The reading and teaching of the Vedas and scriptures, meditation and prayer and the practice of introspection or yoga.

(*ii*) *Deva-yajña*—The company of the sages, their service, purity and acquirement of angelic and holy qualities, the charity, the pursuit of knowledge. These two duties *viz.* Ṛṣi-yajña and Deva-yajña are to be performed morning and evening.

(*iii*) *Pitṛ-yajña*—It consists of serving the elderlies, the learned, the teachers, the father, the mother and other elderly scholars and eminent spiritualists or clairvoyants.

(*iv*) *Bhūta-yajña*—It is a duty to nature. The food being ready, a portion of viands made of clarified butter and sugar should be taken out, leaving out such as is sour, saltish and alcoholic and separating a part of fire, it should be offered into it as is ordained by *Manu* (3.84).

(*v*) *Atithi-yajña*—It is the duty of hospitality. An oblation to the fire of the hearth and to all the gods of nature and part of food to be offered to the miserable, hungry persons or dogs, cows, crows and other animals. A householder before eating the food himself prepared in his house-hold kitchen, should share it by offering to others

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as mentioned above. A house-holder should always remember that the creator of the vast Universe, created it as a compact whole and that he is a particle in it.

The Atithi-yajna

Hospitality to strangers and guests was a cordinal virtue of household life. The Gṛhya Sūtras lay down detailed rules for honouring a guest on his first arrival. Pāṇini mentions *pādya* and *arghya* (V. 4.25) in the order in which they were offered to a guest. He also borrows from the Vedic terminology the word *goghna, i.e.* one for whom a cow was dedicated (III. 4.73). A distinguished guest like a king, a priest, a preceptor, or a respectable relation was considered worthy of this honour. This virtue was the adornment of the married life. *Atithi* means a guest who has come to the householder without any previous notice. To serve such a man with all hospitality is the bounden duty of a householder. To serve relations, friends and other invitees is reciprocal. They are to be received with the kind and degree of hospitality as we expect from them in return. But there is a class of persons who come without any sort of information and from whom we do not expect hospitality in return. For instance, religious missionaries, who having renounced the world live in no settled place, but go from one place to another delivering sermons, imparting religious and moral training etc. It is to this class of guests that we should always be generous and hospitable in the best possible way.

To serve mendicants and professional beggars is quite different from hospitality. In the case of beggars, it is to increase the poverty of the country and in the latter case, it is the performance of duty. It is thus commended in Atharvaveda[1]—"That all joys reside there where the learned, who come to a householder's house uninvited, are duly served and honoured." The *Atithis* are said to be

1. तद्यस्यैवं विद्वान् व्रात्योऽतिथिः गृहानागच्छेत् । अथर्व० १५।२।११।१

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those persons, who are truly learned, who do good to others, have their senses under control, are virtuous, are truthful in speech, are free from deceit and cunningness and are always moving about.

Two kinds of Invitations

Pāṇini refers to two kinds of invitations to dinner, *viz.*, *nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa* (III. 3.161). Patañjali explains the former as an invitation to take food at sacrifices (*havya*) and Śrāddha (*kavya*), the acceptance of which was obligatory. *Āmantraṇa*, however, was an invitation to a feast extended to friends and relations and therefore less formal. As long as there are no *atithis* (itinerary preachers) of the highest order in this world, true progress cannot be made. As they go about in all countries of the world, teaching and preaching truth, no hypocritical and fraudulant practices can flourish. The householders can also easily attain true spiritual knowledge in all places. One religion prevails among all men.

Without *atithis*, doubts cannot be dispelled, and without the removal of doubts, there can be no firm faith. How can then there be any happiness without firm faith ? It is only such learned men as readily embrace good qualities that reap the fourfold fruits of this life, *viz.*, the practice of righteousness, acquisition of wealth, realization of legitimate desires and attainment of salvation.

It is said that righteousness, wealth, legitimate desires and salvation are attainable only when teachers of the highest type are found in a country, but in the absence of good teachers and good disciples, dense ignorance prevails. Whenever good teachers are born who preach the truth, ignorance is dispelled and the light of truth begins to shine forth.

Blessed are the men and women whose minds are centred on the acquisition of knowledge ; who possess sweet and admirable tempers ; who cultivate truthfulness and

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other similar virtues ; who are free from vanity and uncleanliness ; who enlighten the minds of those who are in ignorance ; whose chief delight consists in promoting the happiness of others by the preaching of truth, by generous distribution of knowledge without fee or reward ; and who are engaged in altruistic work as prescribed by the Vedas.

Gautama states that when his teacher, parents or intimate friends visit his house, he shall proceed to the preparation of the dinner after asking them for orders. When an officiating priest, his teacher, his father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncles visit him, a *Madhuparka* or honey-mixture must be offered to them. If they have been once honoured in this manner, the ceremony need be repeated only after a year. But on the occasion of a sacrifice or the wedding a *Madhuparka* must be offered, though less than a year has passed since the last visit of the persons thus honoured.[1]

And to a king who is a Śrotṛya, a *Madhuparka* must be offered as often as he comes, but to a king who is not a Śrotṛya, a seat and water. But for a Śrotṛya, he shall cause to be prepared a foot-bath, an *Arghya* and food of a superior quality, or his usual food distinguished by a particularly careful preparation. To a Brāhmaṇa, who is not learned in the Vedas, but of good conduct, food of a middling quality shall be given. To one who is the reverse of virtuous grass, water and earth, or at least, a welcome. Honour must be shown to a guest, and the host must not dine better than his guest. A couch, a seat and a lodging of the same

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1. भोजयेत् पूर्वमतिथि कुमार व्याधित गर्भिणीसुवासिनी-
स्थविरान् जघन्यांश्च ॥२६॥
आचार्यपितृसखीनां तु निवेद्य वचन क्रिया ॥२७॥
ऋत्विगाचार्यश्वशुर पितृव्यमातुलानामुपस्थाने मधुपर्कः ॥२८॥
संवत्सरे पुनः ॥२९॥
यज्ञविवाहयोरर्वाक् ॥३०॥
गौतम ध० सू० ५।२६-३०

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quality as the host uses must be given to a guest of equal condition and to one's betters : they must be accompanied up to the door or up to the water on departure and respectfully attended to during their stay. The host shall show similar though less attention to a guest who is inferior to himself. He is called a guest who belonging to a different village and intending to stay for one night only, arrives when the sun's beams pass over the trees.[1]

According to his caste a guest must be asked about his well-being (*kuśala*), about his being free from hurt (*anāmaya*), or about his health (*ārogya*). The last formula must also be used in addressing a *Śūdra*. A man of a lower caste is not to be considered a guest by a Brāhmaṇa, except if he has approached on the occasion of a sacrifice. But a *Kṣatṛya* must be fed after the *Brāhmaṇa* guests. Men of other castes he shall feed with his servants for mercy's sake.[2]

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1. राज्ञश्च श्रोत्रियस्य ॥३१॥
अश्रोत्रियस्यासनोदके ॥३२॥
श्रोत्रियस्य तु पाद्यमर्घ्यमन्नविशेषांश्च प्रकारयेत् ॥३३॥
नित्यं वा संस्कार विशिष्टम् ॥३४॥
मध्यतोऽन्नदानमवैद्ये साधुवृत्ते ॥३५॥
विपरीते तु तृणोदकभूमि ॥३६॥
स्वागत मन्ततः ॥३७॥
पूजाऽनत्याशश्च ॥३८॥
शय्यासनावसथानु व्रज्योपासनानि सदृक्छ्रेयसोः समानि ॥३९॥
अल्पशोऽपि हीने ॥४०॥
असमान ग्रामोऽतिथिरेकरात्रिकोऽधिवृक्ष सूर्योपस्थायी ॥४१॥
गौतग ध० सू० ५।३१-४१

2. कुशलानामयारोग्याणामनु प्रश्नोऽन्त्यं शूद्रस्य ॥४२॥
ब्राह्मणस्यानतिथिर ब्राह्मणोऽयज्ञे संवृतश्चेत् ॥४३॥
भोजनं तु क्षत्रियस्योर्ध्वं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥४४॥
अन्यान् भृत्यैस्सहानृशंसार्थमानृशंसार्थम् ॥४५॥
गौतम ध० सू० ५।४२-४५

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Vasiṣṭha states that when a person comes to his house, he should welcome him, rising from his seat and offering him a seat and a bed and receiving him with true and agreeable words, free from jealousy. He should not refuse a guest coming in the evening. He should see that the guest does not sleep in his house unfed. A Brāhmaṇa who sleeps in his house unfed, takes all his virtues with him in the morning. A Brāhmaṇa living there for one night only is called *atithi*. He stays there temporarily ; therefore, he is called *atithi*. A *Brāhmaṇa atithi* coming, at any time, from the other village, is not to sleep in his house at night unfed.[1]

Six persons deserve to be honoured : the priest, the bridegroom, the king, the paternal uncle, the accomplished student and the maternal uncle.[2]

Baudhāyana states that in the morning and evening, whatever food there may be, out of that he shall make the *Vaiśvadeva* offerings, and then entertain, to the best of his power, the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Kṣatriya*, the *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra*, that may happen to arrive ; but when the *Śūdra*

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1. गृहेष्वभ्यागतं प्रत्युत्थानासनशयन-
वाक्सूनृतान सूयाभि र्मानयेत् ॥१२॥
सायमागतमतिथिं नावरुन्ध्यात् ॥ ४॥
नास्यानश्नन्गृहे वसेत् ॥ ५॥
यस्य नाश्नातिवासार्थी ब्राह्मणो गृहमागतः ।
सुकृतं तस्य यत्किंचित्सर्वमादाय गच्छति ॥ ६॥
एकरात्रं तु निवसन्नतिथि ब्राह्मणः स्मृतः ।
अनित्यं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथि रुच्यते ॥ ७॥
नैकग्रामीणमतिथिं विप्रं सांगतिकं तथा ।
काले प्राप्ते अकाले वा नास्यान श्नन्गृहे वसेत् ॥ ८॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ८।१२, ४-८

2. षडर्हा भवन्ति, ऋत्विग्विवाह्य राजा
(ज) पितृव्यस्नातक मातुलाश्च ॥ १॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० ११।१

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arrives, he should be directed to do some work. They quote here the following text: First of all he shall feed the guests, after them the women with child, then the boys, the old persons, the weak and the sick.[1]

According to *Āpastamba* a younger person or one of equal age he shall ask, about his well-being employing the word *kuśala*. He shall ask under the same conditions a *Kṣatriya* about his health employing the word *anāmaya*; a *Vaiśya* if he has lost anything employing the word *anaṣta*.[2] A *Śūdra*, about his health employing the word *ārogya*. He shall not pass a learned Brāhmaṇa without addressing him. If there is no food, earth, water, grass, then a kind word, indeed, never fail in the house of a good man. Thus say those who know the law. To a Brāhmaṇa, who has not studied the Veda, a seat, water and food must be given. But the giver shall not rise to do him honour. Nor shall a *Brāhmaṇa* rise to receive a *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya* though they may be learned. If a *Śūdra* comes as a guest to a Brāhmaṇa,

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1. सायं प्रातर्यदशनीयं स्यात्तेनान्नेन
वैश्वदेवं बलिमुपहृत्य ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय विट्
शूद्रानभ्यागतान् यथाशक्ति पूजयेत् ॥१४॥
यदि बहूनां न शक्नुयादे कस्मै गुणवते दद्यात् ॥१५॥
यो वा प्रथममुपगतः स्यात् ॥१६॥
शूद्रश्चेदागतः तं कर्मणि नियुञ्ज्यात् ॥१७॥
श्रोत्रियं वाऽग्रं दद्यात् ॥१८॥

बौधायन ध० सू०२।३।१४-१८

अग्रे भोजयेदतिथीनन्तर्वत्नीरनन्तरम् ।
बालवृद्धांस्तथा दीनान्व्याधितांञ्च विशेषतः ॥

बौधायन ध० सू० २।७।२७

2. कुशलमवरवयसं वयस्यं वा पृच्छेत् ॥२६॥
अनामयं क्षत्रियम् ॥२७॥
अनष्टं वैश्यम् ॥२८॥

आप० ध० सू० १।४।१४।२६-२८

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he shall give him some work to do. He may feed him after that has been performed. He is called a guest who, being a *Śrotriya*, approaches solely for the fulfilment of his religious duties, and with no other object, a householder who lives intent on the fulfilment of his duties. He shall go to meet such a guest, honour him according to his age by the formulas of salutation prescribed, and cause a seat to be given to him.[1] Some declare that if possible, the seat should have many feet. The householder himself shall wash the feet of that guest ; according to some, two *Śūdras* shall do it. One of them shall be employed in pouring water over the feet, the other in washing his feet. He shall converse kindly with his guest and gladden him with milk or other drinks with eatables, or at least with water. He shall offer to his guest a room, a bed, a matress, a pillow with a cover and ointment, and what else may be necessary. If the dinner has been finished before the arrival of the guest, he shall call his cook and give him rice or *yava* for preparing a fresh meal for the guest. He who entertains guests for one

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1. आरोग्यं शूद्रम् ॥२६॥
नासंभाष्य श्रोत्रियं व्यतिव्रजेत् ॥३०॥
एतानि वै सतामागारे न क्षीयन्ते कदाचनेति ॥१४॥
ब्राह्मणायानधीयाना यासन मुदकमन्नमिति देयम् ।
न प्रत्युत्तिष्ठेत् ॥१६॥
राजन्यवैश्यौ च ॥१८॥
शूद्रमभ्यागतं कर्मणि नियुञ्ज्यात् ।
अथास्मै दद्यात् ॥१९॥
स्वधर्म युक्तं कुटुम्बिनमभ्यर्च्छति धर्म
पुरस्कारो नान्यप्रयोजनः सोतिथिर्भवति ॥ ५॥
तमभिमुखोऽभ्यागम्य यथावयः समेत्य
तस्यासनमाहारयेत् ॥ ७॥

आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।४।१४।२९-३०
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।२।४।१४,१६,१८-१९
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।३।६।५,७

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night obtains earthly happiness, a second night gains the middle air, a third night heavenly bliss, a fourth night the world of unsurpassable bliss, many nights procure endless worlds. That has been declared in the Veda. He shall eat after his guests. A guest who can repeat the whole Veda together with the supplementary books is worthy to receive a cow and the *Madhuparka*.[1]

And also the teacher, an officiating priest, a *Snātaka*, and a just king though not learned in the Veda. A cow and the *Madhuparka* shall be offered to the teacher, to an officiating priest, to a father-in-law, and to a king, if they come after a year has elapsed since their former visit. The *Madhuparka* shall consist of curds mixed with honey, or of milk mixed with honey. On failure of these substances water mixed with honey may be used.[2]

According to *Yājñavalkya* one should give, according to his might, food etc. to all the castes arrived as guests. If a

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1. शक्ति विषये ना बहुपाद मासनं भवतीत्येके ॥ ८॥
तस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयेत् ।
शूद्र मियुनावित्येके ॥ ९॥
अन्यतरोऽभिषेचनं स्यात् ॥१०॥
सान्त्वित्वा तर्पयेद्रसैर्भक्ष्यैरद्भिर वराघ्यैनेति ॥१४॥
आवसथं दद्यादु परिशय्यामुपस्तरणमुपधानं
सावस्तरणमभ्यञ्जनं चेति ॥१५॥
गोमधुपर्काहों वेदाध्यायः ॥ ५॥
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।३।६।८-१०, १४-१५
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० २।४।८।५

2. आचार्य ऋत्विक् स्नातको राजा वा धर्मयुक्तः ॥६॥
आचार्यार्यात्विजेश्वशुराय राज्ञ इति परिसंवत्स-
रादुपतिष्ठदभ्यो गौर्मधुपर्कश्च ॥७॥
दधिमधुसंसृष्टं मधुपर्कः पयो वा मधुसंसृष्टम् ॥८॥
अभाव उदकम् ॥९॥
आप० ध० सू० २।४।८।६-९

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guest comes uninvited even at night, one should treat him with words, earth, grass and water. A *Snātaka*, a preceptor, a king, a friend and relations formed by marriage such as son-in-law, father-in-law, maternal uncle, etc. should be offered *arghya* once a year; a *ṛtvik* (sacrificial priest) should again and again be similarly honoured. A traveller is to be known as an *atithi* (guest) and one versed in the Vedas as *Śrotriya*. They are both worthy of respect to a householder who desires for the region of *Brahmā*.[1]

These rituals are different from the usual customs and ceremonies or functions and fashions. They were unknown in the Western world. The Western philosophers have now come to know the hidden beauty in the rituals performed at the entry of the household life or marriage ceremony. The rituals observed give some indication of the mile-stone reached in life and the change in duties and actions on the part of the child or the guardian. The ceremonial rituals are the tacit recognition on the part of the society of the legitimate position, which the individual, as a member of the society, holds in it.

Moral and Social Behaviour

(a) Moral behaviour

Having studied the social structure, we propose to discuss the moral, social and cultural values, on which the foundation of such a social structure was based, and the code of moral and social behaviour, the strict observance of which alone could preserve these values.

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1. अथित्वेऽपि वर्णेभ्यो देयं शक्त्यानुपूर्वशः ।
अप्रणोद्यो ऽतिथिः सायमपि वाग्भूतृणोदकैः ॥१०७॥
प्रतिसम्वत्सरं त्वर्घ्याः स्नातकाचार्यपार्थिवाः ।
प्रियो विवाह्यश्च तथा यज्ञं प्रत्यृत्विजः पुनः ॥११०॥
अध्वनीनो ऽतिथि र्ज्ञेयः श्रोत्रियो वेदपारगः ।
मान्यावेतौ गृहस्थस्य ब्रह्मलोकमभीप्सितः ॥१११॥
याज्ञ० १।१०७,११०-११

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A law or strict morality was established for the society, so that none may confiscate speedily the wealth amassed through exertion of these people, and following which one can live for hundred lengthened autumns, and keep death away through celebacy and knowledge.[1] It has been ordained by God that you shall live following the footsteps of the lives of those who have made their life ideal; live a long life having the life-force under your control and do not die; live following the life of those who are masters of the self and never submit to the power of death.[2] "Oh ye, mankind! for the sake of attaining spiritual splendour, commence the practice of speaking the holy words, which do good to all the enlightened persons; may we rejoice with all our heroes for a period of hundred winters by over-passing the foot-prints of all evils."[3]

The *Yajurveda* prescribes for the sake of those who are not following the correct path—"The path you traverse now is different from the pathway of the enlightened persons, may death walk away from it so that you may be able to pursue the supreme path of the enlightened persons; and for those who have been endowed with the powers of seeing and hearing, it ordains, not to do any harm to the creatures

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1. इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नु गादपरोऽअर्थमेतम्।
शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन॥
यजु० ३५।१५

2. आयुषायुः कृतां जीवायुष्मान् जीव मा मृथाः।
प्राणेनात्मन्वतां जीव मा मृत्योरुदगा वशम्॥
अथर्व० १९।२७।८

3. वैश्वदेवीं वर्चस आरभध्वं शुद्धा भवन्तः शुचयः पावकाः।
अतिक्रामन्तो दुरिता पदानि शतं हिमाः सर्ववीराः मदेम॥
अथर्व० १२।२।२८

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and not to injure the heroes."[1] The *Atharvaveda* prescribes—"O ye, mankind! proceed onward from this existing position of your life and rise by breaking into pieces the network of death which binds you (from all sides) and never allow yourself to sink downward. Be not parted from this world (before proper time), where you ought to remain ever under the guidance of God the *self-refulgent* and all-impelling power."[2] The *Ṛgveda* also, instructing and *delienating* for mankind the path of long life, says—"O ye, mankind! wake up, we have regained our life—the vital force; darkness hath passed away and illumination hath approached. The path manifested from the sun to travel, we have reached the spot where life is prolonged."[3]

Further the *Ṛgveda* says—"Verily that man takes delight in his possessions, who gives liberally to such a feeble person who, being in need of food, comes to his house. Such a man gets sufficient means for charity at proper time and he befriends other persons on the occasion of his future difficulties."[4] He is not a true friend who does not give anything to his friends and companions when they come to him asking for food. One ought to leave the company of such a person, for his house

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1. परं मृत्यो अनु परेहि पन्थां यस्ते अन्य इतरो देवयानात् ।
चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ब्रवीमि मा नः प्रजां रीरिषो मोत वीरान् ॥
यजु० ३५।७

2. उत्क्रामातः पुरुष मा वपथा मृत्योः पड्वीशमवमुञ्चमानः ।
माच्छिथा अस्माल्लोकादग्नेः सूर्यस्य संदृशः ॥
अथर्व० ८।१।४

3. उदीर्ष्व जीवो असुर्न आगादप प्रगात्तम आ ज्योतिरेति ।
आरैक्पन्या यातवे सूर्यायागन्म यत्र प्रतिरन्तु आयुः ॥
ऋ० १।११३।१६

4. स इद् भोजो यो गृहवे ददात्यन्नकामाय चरते कृशाय ।
अरमस्मै भवति यामहूता उतापरीषु कृणुते सखायम् ॥
ऋ० १०।११७।३

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is not a place of shelter for the needy, rather one should seek another liberal man who gives liberally to others.[1] Let the rich satisfy the powerless poor men who are in need of means of subsistence and let him think over the long pathway (of the worldly ups and downs). Riches roll like the wheels of the chariot; now they come to one man and then they go to another.[2]

One gets a long life by doing good actions and also one gets whatever he likes. He gets imperishable riches and destroys his bad deeds. A man, who is even without merits, going on the foot-prints of noble men, and having full faith in them and not finding fault with them, lives for hundred years.[3] Let us follow the counsels of the wise and learned people.[4] Let us be masters of riches.[5] Get ahead from the existing position in life and be victorious. May your arms be strong and terrible to kill the enemies.[6] Earn your living as if you have hundreds of hands and give, whatever you earn, in charity to the needy, as if you have thousands of

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1. न स सखा यो न ददाति सख्ये सचाभुवे सचमानाय पित्वः ।
अपास्मात् पेयान्न तदोको अस्ति पृणन्तमन्यमरणं चिदिच्छेत् ॥
ऋ० १०।११७।४

2. प्रीणीयादिन्नाधमानाय तव्यान्द्राधीयां समनुपश्येत् पन्थाम् ।
ओ हि वर्तन्ते रथ्येव चक्रान्यमन्यमुप तिष्ठन्त रायः ॥
ऋ० १०।११७।५

3. सतां सज्जनानां साधु पुरुषाणां वा आचारः
जीवन व्यापारः सदाचारः ।
आचाराल्लभते ह्यायुराचारादीप्सितः प्रजाः ।
आचाराद्धन मक्षय्यमाचारो हन्त्यलक्षणम् ॥ मनु० ४।१५६
सर्व लक्षणहीनोऽपि यः सदाचारवान् नरः ।
श्रद्दधानोऽनसूयश्च शतं वर्षाणि जीवति ॥ मनु० ४।१५८

4. वयं देवानां सुमतौ स्याम । अथर्व० ३।१६।४
5. वयं भगवन्तः स्याम । अथर्व० ३।१६।५
6. प्रेता जयता नर उग्रा वः सन्तु बाहवः । अथर्व० ३।१९।७

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hands.[1] And following the path of social behaviour thus shown above, a man may earn good name, fame and the highest glory in life.[2] Therefore, for our good, let us always follow the useful advice and guidance of the learned persons who perform daily sacrifices.[3]

(b) Behaviour towards elders

The code of respect towards the elders is an essential part of the culture on which the civilization of a society is based. Only by strictly observing the code and rules prescribed by the social law-givers the cultural values can be preserved. All the different Dharma Sūtras prescribe in detail the manner in which an elder in age and social status is to be respected. Broadly speaking, in various Dharma Sūtras, one finds that the code of respect prescribed by them is almost identical. They differ only in some small points of detail. Different modes of salutations have been prescribed for greeting the parents, Gurus, elders of the same caste and elders in age of the lower caste, etc., and also the rules for reciprocating the greetings.

According to *Gautama*, the parents, blood relations, elder brothers, persons venerable on account of their learning and their Gurus should be greeted and respected everyday and particularly on return from a journey, by clasping the feet. On meeting several persons together, to whom such a salutation is due, the most venerable must be saluted first. On meeting persons who understand the rules of returning salutes, one shall salute them pronouncing one's own name, and saying—'I so and so, ho ! salute thee.' But on the arrival of an officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger than oneself, one must rise ; in like

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1. शतहस्त समाहर सहस्र हस्त सं किर। अथर्व० ३।२४।५
2. अहमस्मि यशस्तमः। अथर्व० ३।३६।३
3. तेषां वयं सुमतौ यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सौमनसे स्याम। अथर्व० ६।५५।३

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manner, any other aged fellow-citizen, even a Śūdra of eighty years and more, must be honoured by one young enough to be his son, and an Ārya, though he be younger by a Śūdra; and he shall avoid to pronounce the name of that person who is worthy of a salutation,[1] and an official who is not able to recite the Veda shall avoid to pronounce the name of the king. A contemporary who is born on the same day shall be addressed with the terms "*bhoh*" or "*bhavan*" (your honour), and likewise a fellow-citizen who is ten years older than ourself, also an artist who is five years older, and a *Śrotriya* belonging to one's own Vedic school who is three years older, further, *Brāhmaṇas* destitute of learning and those who follow the occupations of *Kṣatriyas* or *Vaiśyas* and a contemporary who has performed the *Dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭhi* of a Soma-sacrifice, before he buys the Soma, will be addressed in the above-mentioned manner.[2]

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1. पादोपसङ्ग्रहणं समवाये ऽन्वहम् ॥१॥
अभिगम्य तु विप्रोष्य ॥२॥
मातृपितृ तद् बन्धूनां पूर्वजानां विद्या-
गुरूणां तद् गुरूणां च ॥३॥
संनिधाने परस्य ॥४॥
स्वनाम प्रोच्याहमयमित्यभिवादो ज्ञ समवाये ॥५॥
ऋत्विक् श्वशुर पितृव्य मातुलानां
तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थानमनभिवाद्याः ॥६॥
तथाऽन्यः पूर्वः पौरोऽशीतिकावरः
शूद्रो ऽप्यपत्यसमेन ॥१०॥
अवरो ऽप्यार्यश शूद्रेण ॥११॥
नाम चास्य वर्जयेत् ॥१२॥
गौतम ध० सू० ६।१-५, ९-१२

2. राज्ञश चाजपः प्रेष्यः ॥१३॥
भो भवन्निति वयस्यस्समाने ऽहनि जातः ॥१४॥
दश वर्ष वृद्धः पौरः ॥१५॥
पञ्चभिः कलाभरः ॥१६॥

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According to *Vasiṣtha*, the feet should be clasped, of one who is superior either in the Vedic learning or in birth. One should rise and accost, or silently embrace the priest, the father-in-law, the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle, if they are younger in age. When the teacher's teacher is present, the behaviour towards him is prescribed to be like that towards the teacher.[1]

Āpastamba prescribes that one shall rise everyday in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher, salute him with these words : 'I so and so, ho ! salute thee', and he shall also salute before the morning meal other very aged learned *Brāhmaṇas*, who may live in the same village. If he has been on a journey, he shall salute the persons mentioned when he meets them on his return. He should do so, if he is desirous of heaven and long life. If a pupil resides in the same village with his teacher after the completion of his studies, he shall go to see him every morning and evening without being called, and if he returns from the journey, he shall go to see him the same day. If his teacher and his teacher's teacher meets, he shall embrace the feet of his teacher's teacher, and then show his desire to do the same to his teacher. Respect must be shown to those

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श्रोत्रियश्चारणस्त्रिभिः ॥१७॥
राजन्यवैश्यकर्मा विद्याहीनः ॥१८॥
दीक्षितश्च प्राक्क्रयात् ॥१९॥
गौतम ध० सू० ६।१३-१९]

1. ऋत्विग्योनि संबन्धेषु च गुरोः पादोप-
संग्रहणं कार्यम् ॥१२॥
ऋत्विक् श्वशुर पितृव्य मातुलाननवर—
वयसः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवदेत् ॥१३॥
गुरोर्गुरौ संनिहिते गुरुवद् वृत्तिरिष्यते ।
गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रस्य वर्तितव्य मिति श्रुतिः ॥२२॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १३।१२-१३, २२

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who are superior by caste and also to persons of the same caste[1], who are venerable on account of learning, virtue and the like. Towards a mother, grandmother and great grandmother and a father, grandfather and great grandfather the same obedience must be shown as towards a teacher. The feet of all Gurus must be embraced everyday by a student who has returned home ; and also on meeting them, after returning from the journey. The feet of elder brothers and sisters must be embraced, according to the order of their seniority ; and respect must always be shown to one's elders and betters, according to the injunction given above. He shall salute an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a father's brother, and a mother's brother, though they may be younger than himself, and when saluting he shall either rise to meet them, or he may silently embrace their feet. A friendship kept for ten years with fellow-citizens is a reason for giving a salutation and so is a friendship contracted at school, which

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1. सदा महान्तमपररात्रमुत्थाय गुरोस्तिष्ठन्
प्रातरभिवादमभिवादयीतासावहं भो इति ॥१२॥
समानग्रामे च वसतामन्येषामपि
वृद्धतराणां प्राकप्रातराशात् ॥१३॥
प्रोष्य च समागमे ॥१४॥
स्वर्गमायुश्चेप्सन् ॥१५॥
सहवसन् सायं प्रातरनाहूतो गुरुं दर्शनार्थो
गच्छेत् ॥१७॥
विप्रोष्य च तदहरेव पश्येत् ॥१८॥
आचार्यं प्राचार्यं संनिपाते प्राचार्यायोप-
संगृह्योपसंजिघृक्षेदाचार्यम् ॥१९॥
पूजा वर्णज्यायसां कार्या ॥ २ ॥

आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।२।५।१२-१५
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।२।८।१७-१९
आपस्तम्ब ध० सू० १।४।१३।२

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has lasted for five years. But a learned *Brāhmaṇa* known for less than three years, must be saluted.[1]

According to *Vaikhānasa*, the mendicants, students, guests, Vedic scholars, *Brāhmaṇas* learned in the Vedas, paternal uncles, teachers, priests, maternal uncles, father-in-law and such other guests, children, old men, persons helpless, distressed and wearied—should be treated with the consideration they deserve. Even though poor, he should give them four or one mouthful of food with water and eat the remaining himself. Mother, father, teacher and learned men are to be saluted everyday. The other relations on return after an absence are to be saluted. The elder brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, father-in-law, like the father, father's sister, mother's sister, elder brother's wife, elder sister, like the mother, are to be respected. Mother is superior to all and the teacher also is superior to all. One should salute a young woman who is the wife of another without touching her, on earth. By saluting those who deserve to be

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1. वृद्धतराणां च ॥ ३ ॥
मातरि पितर्याचार्य वच्छुश्रूषा ॥ ६ ॥
समावृत्तन सर्वे गुरव उपसंग्राह्याः ॥ ७ ॥
प्रोष्य च समागमे ॥ ८ ॥
भ्रातृषु भगिनीषु च यथापूर्वमुपसंग्रहणम् ॥ ९ ॥
नित्या च पूजा यथोपदेशम् ॥१०॥
ऋत्विक्छ्वशुर पितृव्यमातुलानवर वयसः
प्रत्युत्थायाभिवदेत ॥११॥
तूष्णीं वोपसंगृह्णीयात् ॥१२॥
दशवर्षं पौरसख्यं पञ्चवर्षं तु चारणम् ।
त्रिवर्षपूर्वः श्रोत्रियः अभिवादनमर्हति ॥१३॥
आप० १।४।१३।३; १।४।१४।६-१३

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saluted, a man gets such good things as increase his duration of life, wealth, knowledge, strength and health.[1]

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1. भिक्षून् ब्रह्मचारिणोऽतिथीन् वेदविदः श्रोत्रियान् पितृव्याचार्यर्त्विङ् मातुल श्वशुरादीनभ्यागतान् बालवृद्धानाथार्त श्रान्तांश्च यथार्हं पूजयति ॥ २ ॥

अशक्तोऽप्यग्रंभिक्षां वा सोदकं दत्वा शेषं भुञ्जीत ॥ ३ ॥

माता-पिता गुरुर्विद्वांसश्च प्रत्यहमभिवादनीयः ॥१०॥

अन्ये बान्धवा विप्रोष्य प्रत्यागत्याभिवन्द्याः ॥ १ ॥

ज्येष्ठो भ्राता पितृव्यो मातुलः श्वशुरश्च पितृवत् पितृष्वसा ज्येष्ठभार्या भगिनी ज्येष्ठः च मातृवत् पूजयितव्याः ॥ २ ॥

सर्वेषां माता श्रेयसी, गुरुश्च श्रेयान् ॥ ३ ॥

परस्त्रियं युवतिमस्पृशन् भूमावभिवादयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

वन्द्यानां वन्दनादायुः श्रीज्ञान बलारोग्य-शुभानि भवन्ति ॥ ५ ॥

वैखानस ध० सू० १।४।२-३;
वैखानस ध० सू० २।१०।१०;
वैखानस ध० सू० १।११। १-५

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CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

Origin and Growth of Caste System

The inter-caste marriages

The inter-mingling of people by inter-marriages create disturbance of the distribution of professions. When such unions are hypergamous, *i.e.*, a male of a higher *varṇa* marrying a female of a lower, the child takes the *varṇa* of the mother, and her caste profession. The union of a woman of higher *varṇa* with a man of a lower *varṇa* is deemed monstrous, and it is denied the status of marriage. Such unions are called *pratiloma* while hypergamous marriages are *anuloma*. The mixture of castes creates mongrelism. The son of a Brāhmaṇa woman and Śūdra is termed a *caṇḍāla*. He is treated as degraded and sinful and is placed outside the bounds of *varṇas*.

The offspring of a *pratiloma* union belongs to no caste, and is not an Āryan though the parents might have been Āryans. To such a person, term of reprobation like *avarṇa*, *anārya* are applied. He is denied residence in the village, is considered unfit for association and is condemned as unclean and of impure conduct.[1]

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1. वसेयुरेते विज्ञाता वर्तयन्तः स्वकर्मभिः ॥५०॥
चण्डालाश्वपचानां तु बहिर्ग्रामात्प्रतिश्रयः ॥५१॥
न तैः समपमन्विच्छेत्पुरुषो धर्ममाचरन् ।
व्यवहारो मिथस्तेषां विवाहः सदृशैः सह ॥५३॥
रात्रौ न विचरेयुस्ते ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥५४॥
दिवाचरेयुः कार्यार्थं चिह्निता राजशासनैः ॥५५॥
मनु० १०।५०-५१, ५३-५५

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Inter-marriage (connubium), inter-dining (commensality) and common occupations are the usual marks ascribed to caste. In the Hindu *varṇa* scheme, as developed in the Smṛtis, inter-marriage in the restricted sense of the marriage of the men of a higher *varṇa* with women of a lower, was permitted and was in practice down to the seventh century A.D., when the sister of Harṣavardhana (a *Vaiśya*) married Grahavarman, a *Kṣatriya* prince of Kanauja, and Bāṇa had a *Śūdra* step-mother. The practice was not encouraged. Manu condemns a *Brāhmaṇa's* connubial relation with a *Śūdra* woman which is likely to lower his spirituality.[1] Yajñavalkya denounces such unions outright.[2] But the practice which *Al-Birūni* described as having vanished by his day (C. 1000 A.D. Al-Birūni's India, T. Sachan, Vol. 2, p. 156), has not died out in many parts of India, is even now recognised as 'lawful' in some parts of India and is common in Kerala.

On the other hand, even within a *varṇa*, freedom of marriage is restricted by the prohibition of the inter-marriage of parties who belong to the same *gotra*, and who are descended from common ancestors, five or seven degrees removed from themselves.[3]

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1. न ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिययोरापद्यपि हि तिष्ठतोः ।
   कस्मिंश्चिदपि वृत्तान्ते शूद्रा भार्योपदिश्यते ॥१४॥ मनु० ३।१४

2. यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां शूद्राद्दारोपसंग्रहः ।
   नैतन्मम मतं यस्मात्तत्रात्मा जायतेस्वयम् ॥५६॥ याज्ञ० १।५६
   शूद्रां शयनमारोप्य ब्राह्मणो यात्यधो-गतिम् ।
   जनयित्वा सुतं तस्यां ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते ॥१७॥
   दैवपित्र्यातिथेयानि तत्प्रधानानि यस्य तु ।
   ना श्नन्ति पितृदेवास्तत्र च स्वर्गं स गच्छति ॥१८॥ मनु० ३।१७, १८

3. लक्ष्मीधर विरचिते कृत्य कल्पतरौ
   गृहस्थ काण्डे (G.O.S.C.) ।

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The growth of sub-castes through many causes (sectarian divisions, rules of food, occupation, residence, etc.,) has developed the practice of sub-caste marriages. Under the *Smṛti* system, a man and a woman of the same varṇa are, other things being regular, free to marry each other if they are not of the same *gotra* and are not connected by *spiṇḍa* relationship. Manu and Mahābhārata declare that *varṇas* are only four and there is no fifth *varṇa*.[1]

In this context, Gautama has held that the children born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes become *Savarṇas*, *Ambaṣṭhas*, *Ugras*, *Niṣādas*, *Dauṣyantas* or *Pāraśavas*. Children born in the inverted order of wives of higher castes become *Sūtas*, *Māgadhas*, *Āyogavas*, *Kṣattṛas*, *Vaidehakas*, or *Caṇḍālas*.[2]

Some declare that children born to a woman of the *Brāhmaṇa* varṇa from husbands of the four varṇas, are called *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sūtas*, *Māgadhas* or *Caṇḍālas* respectively ; and that children born to a woman of the *Kṣatriya* varṇa from husbands of the four varṇas are called, *Mūrdhābhīṣiktas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Dhīvaras*, *Pulkasas* ; further, the

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सगोत्रादि विवाहः कृतोऽपि अकृत एव ।
सगोत्रायाः न भार्यात्वम् । मेधातिथि मनु० ३।११

असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दार कर्मणि मैथुने ।। मनु० ३।५

सपिण्डा समानगोत्रसप्रवरासु भार्यात्वमेव
नोपपद्यते । मिताक्षरा याज्ञ० १।५३]

1. चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो,
नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ।। मनु० १०।४
स्मृताश्च वर्णाश्चत्वारः पञ्चमो नाधिगम्यते । महा० अनुशासन पर्व ४७।१८

2. अनुलोमाः अनन्तरैकान्तरद्व्यन्तरासु जाताः
सवर्णाम्बष्ठोग्रनिषादवैदेह्यन्तपारशवाः ।। गौतम ध० सू० ४।१६

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children born to a woman of the *Vaiśya* varṇa are called similarly, *Bhrijyakaṇthas, Māhiṣyas, Vaiśyas* and *Vaidehakas*; and the children born to a woman of the *Śūdra* varṇa are similarly called, *Pāraśavas, Yavanas, Karaṇas* and *Śūdras. In the seventh generation men obtain a change of caste, either being raised to a higher one or being degraded to a lower one.* The venerable teacher declares that this happens in the fifth generation, and the same rule applies to those born from parents of different classes that are intermediate between two of the castes originally created by *Brāhmaṇa.* But those born in the inverse order from fathers of a lower and mothers of a higher caste stand outside the pale of the sacred law, as well as those born in the regular order from a female of the Śūdra caste. But he, whom a *Śūdra* begets on a female of unequal caste, shall be treated like an outcaste. The last named the *Caṇḍāla* is the foulest.[1]

In this respect *Vasiṣṭha* holds that the offspring of a *Śūdra* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother is *Caṇḍāla,*—that of

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1. प्रतिलोमाः सूतमागधायोगवक्षत्तृ वैदेहक चण्डालाः ॥१७॥
ब्राह्मण्यजीजनत् पुत्रान् वर्णेभ्यः अनुपूर्व्यात् ब्राह्मण-
सूतमागध चण्डालान् ॥१८॥
तेभ्य एवैव क्षत्रिया मूर्धावसिक्त क्षत्रियधीवर पुल्कसान् ॥१९॥
तेभ्य एव वैश्या भृज्य कण्ठमाहिष्य वैश्य वैदेहकान् ॥२०॥
पारशवयवन करण शूद्रान् शूद्रा-इत्येके ॥२१॥
वर्णान्तर गमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमेन ॥२२॥
पञ्चमेनाचार्यः ॥२३॥
सृष्टचन्तरजानां च ॥२४॥
प्रतिलोमात्तु धर्महीनः ॥२५॥
शूद्रायां च ॥२६॥
असमानायां च शूद्रात्पतित वृत्तिः ॥२७॥
अन्त्यः पापिष्ठः ॥२८॥
गौतम ध० सू० ४।१७-२८

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Śūdra father and *Kṣatriya* mother, the *Vaiṇa*, —that of *Śūdra* father and *Vaiśya* mother, the *Antyāvasāyin* ; —they declare that the son of a *Vaiśya* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother is the *Rāmaka* ; that of *Vaiśya* father and *Kṣatriya* mother, the *Pulkasa* ; that of *Kṣatriya* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother is the *Sūta*. "One may know by their deeds those who have been begotten secretly and to whom the *stigma* of springing from unions in the inverse order of the castes attaches ; because they are destitute of virtue and good conduct."—Children begotten by *Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* on females of the next lower, second lower and third lower castes become respectively, the *Ambaṣṭha*, the *Ugra* and the *Niṣāda*.—The son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Śūdra* mother is the *Pāraśava*.[1]

According to *Baudhāyana*, sons born of wives of the second or third lower castes are *Ambaṣṭhas, Ugràs* and *Niṣādas*, of females wedded in the inverse order are born *Āyogavas, Māgadhas, Vaiṇas, Kṣattṛas, Pulkasas, Kukkuṭas, Vaidehakas* and *Caṇḍālas*. An *Ambaṣṭha* begets on a woman of the first caste, a *Śvapāka*, an *Ugra* on a woman

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1. शूद्रेण ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नश्चण्डालो भवतीत्याहुः,
राजन्यायां वैणो, वैश्यायामन्त्यावसायी ॥१॥
वैश्येन ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नो रामको भवतीत्याहुः,
राजान्यायां पुल्कसः ॥२॥
राजन्येन ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नः सूतो भवतीत्याहुः ॥३॥
अथाप्युदाहरन्ति ॥४॥
छिन्नोत्पन्नास्तु ये केचित्प्रातिलोम्यगुणाश्रिताः ।
गुणाचार परिभ्रंशात्कर्मभिस्तान्विजानीयुः ॥५॥
एकान्तरदव्यन्तरत्र्यन्तरानुजाता ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय
वैश्येश्म्बष्ठोग्र निषादा भवन्ति ॥६॥
शूद्रायां पारशवः पारयन्नेव जीवन्नेव शवो भवतीत्याहुः ॥७॥
शव इति मृताख्या ॥८॥
वसिष्ठ ध० सू० १८।१-८

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of the second caste, a *Vaiṇa*, a *Niṣāda* on a woman of the third caste, a *Pulkasa*, in the contrary case, a *Kukkuṭa* is produced. Those sons whom an uninitiated man begets, are called by the wise *Vrātyas*, who are excluded from the *Sāvitri*.[1] A *Brāhmaṇa* begets on a woman of the *Kṣatriya* caste, a *Brāhmaṇa*; on a woman of the *Vaiśya* caste, an *Ambaṣṭha*, on a woman of the *Śūdra* caste, a *Niṣāda*—according to some, a *Pāraśava*. A *Kṣatriya* begets on a female of the *Vaiśya* caste a *Kṣatriya*; on a female of the *Śūdra* caste, an *Ugra*. A *Vaiśya* begets on a female of the *Śūdra* caste, a *Rathakāra*. A *Śūdra* begets on a female of the *Vaiśya* caste, a *Māgadha*[2]

According to *Yajñavalkya*, the son begotten on a *Kṣatriya* wife by a *Brāhmaṇa* is called *Mūrdhabhiṣikta*; that on a *Vaiśya* wife, *Ambaṣṭa*; that on a *Śūdra* wife, *Niṣāda* or *Pāraśava*. Sons begotten on a *Vaiśya* and

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1. एकान्तरद्व्यन्तरास्वम्बष्ठोग्रनिषादाः ॥ ७ ॥
प्रतिलोमास्वायोगव मागधवैणक्षत्रपुल्कस
कुक्कुट वैदेहक चाण्डालाः ॥ ८ ॥
अम्बष्टात्प्रथमायां श्वपाकः ॥ ९ ॥
उग्राद् द्वितीयायां वैणः ॥१०॥
विषादात्तृतीयायां पुल्कसः ॥११॥
विपर्यये कुक्कुटः ॥१२॥
तान्सावित्रीपरिभ्रष्टान्व्रात्यानाहु र्मनीषिणो
व्रात्यानाहु र्मनीषिण इति ॥१६॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।८।७-१२-१६

2. ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणो वैश्यायामम्बष्ठः
शूद्रायां निषादः ॥ ३ ॥
पारशव इत्येके ॥ ४ ॥
क्षत्रियाद् वैश्यायां क्षत्रियः शूद्रायांमुग्रः ॥ ५ ॥
वैश्याच्छूद्रायां रथकारः ॥ ६ ॥
शूद्राद् वैश्यायां मागधः ॥ ७ ॥
बौधायन ध० सू० १।९।३-७

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Śūdra woman by a *Kṣatriya* are respectively known in the Smṛtis as *Māhiśya* and *Ugra*. The son begotten on a *Śūdra* woman by a *Vaiśya* is called *Caraṇa*. The rule applies, according to the Smṛtis, to married wives. The son begotten by a *Kṣatriya* on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman is called *Sūta*; that begotten by a *Vaiśya*, is called *Vaidehaka*; that begotten by a *Śūdra*, is called *Caṇḍāla*, driven out of the pale of all religious rites. A son born of a *Kṣatriya* mother by a *Vaiśya* father is called *Magadha*; that begotten by a *Śūdra* is called *Catta*; a *Śūdra* begets on a *Vaiśya* woman a son called *Ayogava*. A *Māhiśya* begets on a *Caraṇa* woman a son called *Rathakāra*. Thus, *Pratiloma* begotten by a father of an inferior caste upon a mother of superior caste and *Anuloma* begotten by a father of superior[1] caste upon a mother of inferior caste offspring are known as *Asat* (bad) and *Sat* (good). The attainment of an excellent higher caste is known to take place in the seventh, or the fifth, *Yuga* (cycle or birth); in case of existence of a degraded livelihood, equality of lower caste takes place in the seventh, sixth or the fifth birth; the superior or inferior position and the attainment of an excellent caste of *Uttara* (son begotten by a *Kṣatriya* on a *Mūrdhabhiṣikta* woman) and

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1. विप्रान्मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तो हि क्षत्त्रियाणां विशः स्त्रियाम्।
अम्बष्ठः शूद्रायां निषादो जातः पारशवोऽपि वा ॥९१॥
वैश्यात्शूद्र्योस्तु राजन्यान्माहिष्योग्रौ सुतौ स्मृतौ।
वैश्यात्तु करणः शूद्रायां विन्नास्वेषविधिः स्मृतः ॥९२॥
ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियात् सूतो वैश्याद् वैदेहकस्तथा।
शूद्राज्जातस्तु चाण्डालः सर्वधर्म बहिष्कृतः ॥९३॥
क्षत्रिया मागधं वैश्याच्छूद्रात् क्षत्तारमेव तु।
शूद्रादायोगवं वैश्याजनयामास वै सुतम् ॥९४॥
माहिष्येण करण्यान्त रथकारः प्रजायते।
असत्सन्तस्तु विज्ञेयाः प्रतिलोमानु लोमजाः ॥९५॥
याज्ञ० १।९१-९५

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Adhara (son begotten on her by a *Brāhmaṇa*) should be determined as before.[1]

Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra states the births, names and occupations of '*anulomas*', '*pratilomas*', '*antarālas*', and '*vrātyas*', who are born of the inter-marriages between members of the four castes. The '*anuloma*' is begotten by a man born high (*i.e.* higher caste), on a woman born of a low caste. The '*pratiloma*' is begotten by a man of low caste on a woman born of a higher caste than that of the husband. Then one begotten by an '*anuloma*' man on a '*anuloma*' woman is an '*antarāla*'. The one begotten by a '*pratiloma*' man on a '*pratiloma*' woman becomes a '*vrātya*'.[2]

Born of *Brahma's* mouth, the *Brāhmaṇa* men and the *Brāhmaṇa* women became the *Brahmaṛṣis* and their wives. By one belonging to their (*Brahmaṛṣis*) '*gotra*' or sons, begotten on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman belonging to a different '*gotra*' married in accordance with religious rites and with the recital of '*mantras*' is a *Brāhmaṇa*, who is pure. By the *Kṣatriya* who is born out of the arms of *Brahma* which are below the mouth, begotten on a *Kṣatriya* woman married according to the religious rites is a *Kṣatriya*, who is pure. Of them of *Kṣatriya* man and woman if they are living together *transgressing* religious sanction, secretly is born an impure *Kṣatriya* named Bhoja who is unfit to be anointed or for the *consecration* of the *tiara* and he discharges the

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1. जात्युत्कर्षा युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमे ऽपि वा ।
व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चोत्तराधरम् ॥ याज्ञ० १।९६

2. चातुर्वर्ण्य संकरेणोत्पन्नानामनुलोम प्रतिलोमान्तराल-
व्रात्यानामुत्पत्ति नाम वृत्ति च ॥१॥
उर्ध्वं जातादधो जातायां जातोऽनुलोमः ।
अधरोत्पन्नादूर्ध्वं जातायां जातः प्रतिलोमः ।
ततोऽनुलोमादनु लोम्यां जातो ऽन्तरालः ।
प्रतिलोमात् प्रतिलोम्यां जातो व्रात्यो भवति ॥२॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।११।१-२

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duties of the commander-in-chief of the forces of the king. In the absence of a pure born *Kṣatriya* to succeed to the throne, the Bhoja without the *consecration* of the *tiara* becomes the king and his occupation is like that of the king. Begotten by a *Vaiśya* who is born of the thighs of *Brahma* which are below the arms on a *Vaiśya* woman is a *Vaiśya*, who is pure.[1]

Thus one begotten righteously by a *Śūdra* on a *Śūdra* woman, is a pure *Śūdra*. From inter-caste unions, *i.e.*, from the inter-marriage of a man of a higher caste and a woman of a lower caste, '*anulomas*' and such others are born. By a *Brāhmaṇa* on a *Kṣatriya* woman is begotten a *Savarṇa* who is the chief amongst all '*anulomas*'. His occupation is the performance of religious acts according to the *Atharva-veda*, riding on horses, elephants, chariots and *palanquins* and commanding the forces of the king or following the doctor's profession. One born secretly is called *Abhiṣikta*. If he be anointed and becomes a king, he should study *Āyurveda* (science of healing) with its eight divisions (or *Bhūtatantra*), the religious treatises teaching mystical and magical formulas concerning the worship of the spirits. Acting according to what is ordained for him, being kind and truthful, he should do good to all living beings. Or he should adopt the occupation of an astronomer. By the adulterous

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1. ब्रह्मणो मुखादुद्भूता ब्राह्मणा ब्राह्मण्यश्च ब्रह्मर्षयः पत्न्यो बभूवुः ।
तेषां गोत्रोत्पन्नात् ब्राह्मण्यां असगोत्रायां विधिना समन्त्रकं
गृहीतायां जातो ब्राह्मणः शुद्धो भवेत् ॥३॥
तस्मादधो बाहुभ्यामुत्पन्नात् क्षत्रियात्
क्षत्रियायां विधिवज्जातः क्षत्रियः शुद्धः ॥५॥
तयोरधिकं गूढोत्पन्नो ऽशुद्धो भोजाख्यो
नैवाभिषिच्यः पट्टबन्धो राज्ञः सैनापत्यं करोति ॥६॥
शुद्धाभावेऽपट्टबन्धोनून् पाति तद् वृत्तं राजवत् स्यात् ॥७॥
अधस्तादूरुभ्यामुत्पन्नाद् वैश्यात् वैश्यायां तथा वैश्यः शुद्धः ॥८॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।११।३,५-८

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intercourse between a *Brāhmaṇa* man and a *Vaiśya* woman is born a *Kumbhakāra* (potter) whose profession is pot-making and *Nāpita* (barber) who shaves (men's bodies) above the navel.[1]

In secret an *Āśvika* is born, whose profession is to buy and sell horses. The offspring of the paramour of a woman is called a *Niṣāda* who kills wild beasts. By a *Kṣatriya* on a *Śūdra* woman is begotten an '*Ugra*' who executes sentences on those who deserve punishment. Then by an '*anuloma*' male on an '*anuloma*' female is begotten one who is an '*anuloma*' and he follows the caste and profession of his father or mother. By a *Kṣatriya* on a *Brāhmaṇa* maid is begotten in accordance with sacred rites a *Sūta*, who is the chief amongst the '*pratiloma*', is initiated without '*mantras*' and is debarred from the religious rites of the twice-born. An offspring of adultery becomes the *Rathakāra* who is destitute of sacred texts and of the status of a twice-born person, who performs the duties of a *Śūdra* and who lives by tending horses. By a *Vaiśya* on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman is begotten a *Māgadha*, whose food is not fit to be eaten by even the *Śūdras*, who is an untouchable, who praises all and

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1. अथ पद्भ्यामुत्पन्नाच् छूद्रायां न्यायेन शूद्रः शुद्धः ॥ १ ॥
तेषामेव सङ्करेणोत्पन्नाः सर्वे ऽनुलोमाद्याः ॥ ३ ॥
ब्राह्मणात् क्षत्रियकन्यायां जातः सवर्णोऽनुलोमेषु मुख्यः ॥ ४ ॥
अस्यवृत्तिरथर्वणं कर्माश्वहस्ति रथ संवाहन मारोहणं राज्ञः
सैनापत्यं चायुर्वेदकृत्यं वा ॥ ५ ॥
गूढोत्पन्नोऽभिषिक्ताख्यः ॥ ६ ॥
अभिषिक्त श्चेन्नृपो भूयात्, अष्टाङ्ग-
मायुर्वेदं भूततन्त्रं वा स पठेत् ॥ ७ ॥
तदुक्ताचारो दयामुक्तः सत्यवादी
तद्विधानेन सर्वप्राणिहितं कुर्यात् ॥ ८ ॥
ज्योतिर्गणनादिकाधिका वृत्ति र्वा ॥ ९ ॥
जारात् कुम्भकारः, कुलाल वृत्ति र्नापितो नाभेरूर्ध्ववप्ता च ॥११॥
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१२।१,३-९,११

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whose occupation is that of eulogizing others, singing songs and carrying of messages. By a *Śūdra* on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman is begotten a *Caṇḍāla* who wears ornaments made of lead and black iron[1], round whose neck is wound a leather *thong*, who carries a drum hanging on one side. He is deprived of all religious acts and wanders here and there. He takes the filth out of the villages after collecting it in the forenoon from the streets and other places. He should live with the members of his own community outside the village.

He should not enter the village after mid-day and, in case he enters, he is to be killed by the king, for, otherwise he obtains the sin of causing abortion. On a *Vaiśya* woman is begotten a *Sāmudra* who lives by sea-trade and who should make his living on fishing. By an '*Ambaṣṭha*' on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman is begotten a *Nāvika* who lives by sea-trade and catches fish and who sails over the sea on his ship (*i.e.*, becomes a navigator). On a *Kṣatriya* woman (by him) are begotten a *Karmakāra* man and *Karmakāra* woman. By a *Caṇḍāla* on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman is begotten a *Śvapaca*

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1. गूढादाश्विको ऽश्वक्रय विक्रयी स्यात् ॥१३॥
जारोत्पन्नो निषादो व्यालादि मृगहिंसाकारी ॥ २ ॥
राजन्यतः शूद्रायामुग्रः सुदण्ड्यदण्डनकृत्यः ॥ ३ ॥
ततो ऽनुलोमादनुलोमायां जातश्चानुलोमः
पितुर्मातुर्वा जातिं वृत्तिं भजेत् ॥ ७ ॥
क्षत्रियाद् विप्रकन्यायां मन्त्रवज्जातः सूतः प्रतिलोमेषु
मुख्योऽयं मन्त्रहीनोपनीतो द्विजधर्महीनः ॥ ८ ॥
जारेण मन्त्रहीनजोरथकारो द्विजत्वविहीनः शूद्र-
कृत्यो ऽश्वानां पोषणादि परिचर्याजीवी ॥१०॥
वैश्यात् ब्राह्मण्यां मागधः शूद्रैरप्यभोज्यान्नोऽस्पृश्यः
सर्ववन्दी प्रशंसा कीर्तन गान प्रेषण वृत्तिः ॥११॥
शूद्रात् ब्राह्मण्यां चण्डालः सीसकालायसा ।

वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१२।१३; ३।१३।२-३,७-८,१०-११

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who bears the distinguishing marks of a *Caṇḍāla*, who is to be despised always and is deprived of all religious rites.[1]

Caste System

The history of caste system is a history of changes and vicissitudes of the last three thousand years. Formerly, it was much less rigid than it is now. Interdining is an *anathema* to an orthodox Hindu of to-day. *Manu*[2] and *Āpastamba*[3], however, permit a *Brāhmaṇa* to take his meals in the house of a barber, a milkman and a tenant and employ a *Śūdra* cook even for preparing the sacred sacrificial food. Inter-caste marriages which are still not permissible under the Hindu Law, were allowed by most of the Smṛtis, provided the husband belonged to a higher caste.

Formerly, it was emphatically required that all Brāhmaṇas should devote twelve years to Vedic studies after

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1. भरणो वध्रंबन्ध कण्ठः कक्षेज्ञल्लरीयुक्तो यतस्ततश्चरन्
सर्वकर्म बहिष्कृतः पूर्वाह्णे ग्रामादौ वीथ्यामन्य-
त्रापिमलान्यपकृष्य बहिरपोहयति ॥ ७ ॥
ग्रामात् बहिर्दूरे स्वजातीयै निर्वसेत् ॥ ८ ॥
मध्याह्नात् परं ग्रामे न विशत्ययं विशे च् चेद्राज्ञा
वध्यो ऽन्यथा भ्रूणहत्या मवाप्नोति ॥ ९ ॥
वैश्यायां सामुद्रः समुद्र पण्यजीवी
मत्स्यघाती च स्यात् ॥१२॥
अम्बष्ठात् विप्रायां नाविकः समुद्रपण्य
मत्स्यजीवी समुद्रलङ्घनान्नावं प्लावयति ॥ १ ॥
क्षत्रियायां कर्मकारः कर्मकारी ॥ ४ ॥
चण्डालात् विप्रायां श्वपचः चण्डालवच्
चिन्हयुक्तो नित्य निन्द्यः सर्वकर्म बहिष्कार्यः ।
वैखानस ध० सू० ३।१४।७-९,१२; ३।१५।१,४

2. आधिकः कुल मित्रं च गोपालो दास नापितौ ।
एते शूद्रेषु भोज्यान्न यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥ मनु० ४।२५३

3. आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः ॥
आप० ध० सू० २।२।३४

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their *Upanayana*. Afterwards, only a small section of the *Brāhmaṇa* community adhered to this rule and the rest were required to memorise a few Vedic Mantras necessary for the daily religious purposes and were encouraged to devote their main energy to the development of new branches of knowledge like philosophy, grammar and classical Sanskrit literature. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 118 & 133), we find that the *Kaurava* princes are represented as experts in *Veda*, *Vedānta* and the various branches of the military science. *Gautama* observes that dull *Brāhmaṇa* children should follow the profession of the *Kṣatriya* or the *Vaiśya*. *Ambitious Brāhmaṇas* also could not be prevented from following the military profession, where glittering prizes awaited the successful adventurer. A *Brāhmaṇa* priest of holy *Benaras* is said to have sent his son to *Taxila* to learn archery, because it was predicted that he was to be a king. Inscriptions make it clear that the recruitment to the army was largely made from the agriculturists and *Śūdras*. *Dhanurveda* also contemplates military education for all the four castes. It is interesting to note that when *Yuan Chwang* was in India in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D., the kings of *Ujjain*, *Maheśvar* and *Āssām* were *Brāhmaṇas*; those of *Pāriyātra* and *Kanauja*, *Vaiśyas*; and those of *Mātipura* and *Sindha*, *Śūdras*. If members of all classes could become kings, it implies that they must all be following the military profession.

Castes are of many kinds—tribal, racial, sectarian and occupational. Some castes owe their origin to migration. When members of an old caste migrate to a different part of the country, they become a new caste. As it is clear from the Sanskrit word *varṇa*. Caste had originally reference only to colour. If we look into the past history of India, we see how the country was subjected to invasions after invasions by different races. Even at the beginning of her history, India was peopled by various racial groups, the dark aboriginal tribes, the sturdy Dravidians, the

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yellow-skinned Mongols and the *blithe* forceful Aryans. Very soon intimate intercourse was developed with the *Persians*, the *Greeks* and the *Scythians*, some of whom even settled down in India. No other country in the world has had such racial problems as India.

Man has no right to destroy or enslave the weak and the unfit. One race may not be as clever or strong as another. In dealing with the problem of conflict between the different racial groups, Hinduism adopted a democratic course, *i.e.*, of allowing each racial group to develop the best in it without impeding the progress of others. Great men who tried to bring together the different races in India are worshipped as the makers of the Hindu society. *Rāma* used the aboriginal tribes in the work of civilizing the South. He brought together the *Āryans* and the *non-Aryans*, and so did *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Buddha*. All tribes were admitted to the larger fold of Hinduism with the opportunities and responsibilities which it provided—the opportunities to share the intellectual and cultural life of the Hindus and the responsibilities of contributing to its thoughts, its moral advancement and its spiritual heritage. Each group interpreted and developed the Hindu ideals in its own characteristic way.

The Hindu scriptures have given recognition to the rules relating to food and marriage which the different communities were practising. What we regard as the lower castes have their own *taboos* and customs, laws and beliefs which they have created for themselves in the course of ages.[1] Each member of the group is allowed to inherit the bequeathed property. As regards marriage, it is a point of social honour for every member to marry[2] within his own

1. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात्।
स्वभाव नियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्विषम्॥ गीता १८।४७

2. अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवसि हृदयादधि जायसे।
आत्मा वै पुत्र नामाऽसि स जीव शरदः शतमिति॥
निरुक्त ३।४, बौधायन ध० सू० २।२।१६

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caste. Hence a 'low' caste woman would refuse to marry a man outside her caste, even if he be from a 'higher' one.

There has been an infusion of foreign blood into the Hindu race, and even within one race itself there has been a steady flow of blood from the Brāhmaṇa to the *Caṇḍāla*. The inter-mixture of blood has been carefully regulated by means of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, though the tendency to *indiscriminate* crossing was not encouraged. While *Manu* recommends marriages of members of the same caste (*savarṇa*), he tolerates marriages of men with women of the 'lower castes' (*anuloma*). He, however, does not justify *pratiloma* marriages, *i.e.*, marriages of women of the 'higher' castes with men of the 'lower' castes. He describes the various categories of the progeny of such marriages. While these marriages were not regarded as proper, there is little doubt that they were prevalent.

The principle of *savarṇa* marriages, on the other hand, is not unsound. It is a difficult question to decide whether the influence of heredity is so great as to justify *savarṇa* marriages only. The question of *nature* versus *nurture* is still hotly debated. Democrats are quite certain that it is not blue blood or inherited *traits* that make for the superiority of the upper classes. The Hindu view, however, has the support of ancient *Greek* thought and modern science. They believed in heredity and actually developed a theory of race-betterment by the weeding out of inferior *strains* and the multiplication of the superior ones. If the parents are of about the same class, the child would be practically the equal of the parents. So long as we had the caste-system, both *nature* and *nurture* co-operated. *Generally, sons are expected to follow the calling of their fathers.*

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Ideal unity is found in the *Puruṣa Sūkta*[1] where the different sections of society are regarded as the links of the great Self. Human society is an organic whole, of which the parts are naturally interdependent. Each part follows its own distinctive function and conditions the fulfilment of the function of the rest. Its own function, in turn, is conditioned by the fulfilment of their functions by the rest of the parts. In this sense the whole is present in each part, while each part is indispensable to the whole. Each caste has its own social purpose and function, its own code and tradition. The functions of the different castes were regarded as equally important to the well-being of the whole. The *serenity* of the teacher, the heroism of the warrior, the honesty of the businessman, and the patience and energy of the worker, all contribute to the social growth. Each has its own perfection.

The system of caste insists that the law of social life should not be that of cold and cruel competition, but that of harmony and co-operation. Society is not a field of rivalry among individuals. The castes are not allowed to compete with one another. A man born in a particular group is trained to its manner ; he will find it extremely hard to adjust himself to a new way of life. Each man is said to have his own specific nature (*svabhāva*) fitting him for his own specific function (*svadharma*). Therefore, changes of *dharma* or *function* are not encouraged.

The four castes represent men of *thought*, men of *action*, men of *feeling*, and men in whom none of these is highly developed.[2] Of course, these are the dominant and not the

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1. ब्राह्मणो ऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
उरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शुद्रोऽजायत ॥
यजु० ३१।११; ऋ० १०।९०।१२

2. *Cf. also.* सद्गुणो ब्राह्मणो वर्णः क्षत्रियस्तु रजोगुणः ।
तमोगुणः तथा वैश्यः गुणसाम्यात्तु शूद्रता ॥

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exclusive characters, and there are all sorts of *permutations* and *combinations* of them which constitute the adulterations (*Sankara*) and mixtures (*miśrajāti*).

Bhagavad Gītā describes that the divisions of caste are in accordance with each man's character and aptitude.[1] *Karma* is adapted to *guṇa* (quality). The qualities can be altered only gradually. Heredity and training were used to fix the calling. Though the functions were regarded as hereditary, exceptions were freely allowed. We can learn even from low persons. All people possess natural qualities though in different degrees. The Brāhmaṇa has in him the possibilities of a warrior. The *Ṛṣis* of old were agriculturists and sometimes warriors too. According to the *Bhagavad Gītā*, one obtains perfection, if one does one's duty in the proper spirit of non-attachment.[2]

Happily the world is so arranged that each man's good turns out to be the good of others. A building craftsman of the old days had fewer political rights, less pay and less comfort too, but he was more happy as he enjoyed his work. The worker, whether a mason or a bricklayer, blacksmith or carpenter, was a member of a great co-operative group, initiated into the secrets of his craft at an impressionable age. He was dominated by the impulse to create beauty.

While caste has resulted in much evil, there are some sound principles underlying it. Our attitude to those whom we are pleased to call primitive must be one of

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1. ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभाव प्रभवै गुंणैः॥ गीता १८।४१

2. स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः।
स्व कर्म निरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु॥ गीता १८।४५
यतः प्रवृत्ति र्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं तत्तम्।
स्व कर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः॥ गीता १८।४६
श्रेयान् स्वधर्मः॥ गीता ३।३५

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sympathy. The task of the civilised people is to respect and *foster* the live impulses of backward communities and not to destroy them. Society is an organism of different grades, and human activities differ in kind and significance. But each of them is of value so long as it serves the common end. Each type has its own nature which it should be allowed to follow. No one can be a perfect saint, a great warrior and an efficient businessman at the same time.

Having studied the results of inter-marriages and how the caste-system developed, we give ahead a comparative statement, indicating as to how the different castes originated from inter-marriages and how they were described according to the different Dharma Sūtras and scriptures.

Sl. No.	Caste of		Vaikhānasa Dh. Sūtra	Auś. Smr.	Baudhāyana Dh. Sūtra	Gautama Dh. Sūtra	Manu Smr.	Vasiṣṭha Smr.
	Father	Mother						
1	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa (Widow)	Golaka	—	—	—	—	—
2	Do	Brāhmaṇa (Adultery)	Kuṇḍaka	—	—	—	—	—
3	Kṣatriya	Kṣatriya (Adultery)	Bhoja	Gūḍhajātaka	—	—	—	—
4	Vaiśya	Vaiśya (Adultery)	Maṇikara	Maṇikara	—	—	—	—
5	Śūdra	Śūdra (Adultery)	Mālavaka	—	—	—	—	—

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Sl. No.	Caste of		Vaikhānasa Dh. Sūtra	Auś. Smr.	Baudhāyana Dh. Sūtra	Gautama Dh. Sūtra	Manu Smr.	Vasiṣṭha Smr.
	Father	Mother						
6	Śūdra (Low class)	Śūdra	Mālavaka	—	—	—	—	—
7	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	Savarṇa, Nripa	Savarṇa, Nripa	Savarṇa	Savarṇa, Mūrdhābhiṣikta	—	—
8	Do	Do (Adultery)	Abhiṣikta	Abhiṣikta	—	—	—	—
9	Do	Vaiśya	Ambaṣṭha	Ambaṣṭha	Ambaṣṭha	Niṣāda or Bhrijya-kanta	Ambaṣṭha	Ambaṣṭha
10	Do	Do (Adultery)	Kumbha-kāra, Napita	Kumbha-kāra, Napita	—	—	—	—
11	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	Madgu, Mahanarma	—	Savarṇa	Ambaṣṭha, Māhiṣya	—	—

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12	Do	Do (Adultery)	Āśvika	—	—	—	—	—
13	Brāhmaṇa	Śūdra	Pāraśava	Pāraśava	Pāraśava, Niṣāda	Pāraśava	Pāraśava, Niṣāda	Niṣāda
14	Do	Do (Adultery)	Niṣāda	Niṣāda	—	—	—	—
15	Kṣatriya	Śūdra	Ugra	Ugra	Ugra	Dauṣyanta, Yavana	Ugra	—
16	Do	Do (Adultery)	Śūlika	Śūlika	—	—	—	—
17	Vaiśya	Śūdra	Cūcaka	Sūcaka	Rathakāra	Ugra or Karana	—	—
18	Do	Do (Adultery)	Katakāra	—	—	—	—	—
19	Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	Sūta	Sūta	—	Sūta	Sūta	Sūta
20	Do	Do (Adultery)	Rathakāra	Rathakāra	—	—	—	—
21	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	Māgadha	Māgadha	Sūta	Kṣattri or Māgadha	Māgadha	Rāmaka
22	Do	Do (Adultery)	Cakrī	—	—	—	—	—

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Sl. No.	Caste of		Vaikhānasa Dh. Sūtra	Auś. Smr.	Baudhāyana Dh. Sūtra	Gautama Dh. Sūtra	Manu Smr.	Vasiṣṭha Smr.
	Father	Mother						
23	Do	Kṣatriya	Āyogava	Āyogava	Āyogava	Māgadha or Dhvīara	Vaidehaka	Pulkasa
24	Vaiśya	Kṣatriya (Adultery)	Pulinda	Pulinda	—	—	—	—
25	Śūdra	Kṣatriya	Pulkasa	Pulkasa	—	Vāidehaka or Pulkasa	Kṣattri	Vaina
26	Antarāla or Vrātya or Cūcaka	Brāhmaṇa	Takṣaka	Takṣaka[1]	—	—	—	—
27	Śūdra	Kṣatriya (Adultery)	Velava	Rañjaka	—	—	—	—
28	Do	Vaiśya	Vaidehaka	Vaidehaka	—	Āyogava or Vaidehaka	Āyogava	Antya-vaśayin
29	Do	Do (Adultery)	Cakrika	Cakri	—	—	—	—

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30	Do	Brāhmaṇa	Caṇḍāla	Caṇḍāla	Caṇḍāla	Caṇḍāla	Caṇḍāla	Caṇḍāla
31	Antarāla or Vrātya or Cūcaka	Kṣatriya	Matsya-bandhu	Matsya-bandhu[2]	—	—	—	—
32	Do	Vaiśya	Sāmudra	—	—	—	—	—
33	Ambaṣṭha	Brāhmaṇa	Nāvika	—	—	—	—	—
34	Do	Kṣatriya	Adhonāpita	—	—	—	—	—
35	Madgu	Brāhmaṇa	Veṇuka	Veṇuka[3]	—	—	—	—
36	Do	Kṣatriya	Karmakāra	—	—	—	—	—
37	Vaidehaka	Brāhmaṇa	Carmakāra	Carmakāra[4]	—	—	—	—
38	Carmajiva	Kṣatriya	Sūcika	Sūcika or Pācaka	—	—	—	—
39	Āyogava	Brāhmaṇa	Tāmrajīva	Tāmrajīva	—	—	—	—
40	Tāmrajīva	Kṣatriya	Khanaka	Sunika	—	—	—	—

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Sl. No.	Caste of		Vaikhānasa Dh. Sūtra	Auś. Smr.	Baudhāyana Dh. Sūtra	Gautama Dh. Sūtra	Manu Smr.	Vasiṣṭha Smr.
	Father	Mother						
41	Khanaka	Do	Mridbandhu	Udbandhu[5]	—	—	—	—
42	Pulkasa	Brāhmaṇa	Rajaka	Rajaka[6]	—	—	—	—
43	Caṇḍāla	Do	Śvapaca	Śvapaca[7]	—	—	—	—

1. Cūcaka of Vai. Dh. Sū. corresponds to Sūcaka of Auś. Smr. and in the latter Takṣaka is the offspring of Sūcaka male and Brāhmaṇa female.
2. The same is the case here also.
3. Venuka is the offspring begotten on a Brāhmaṇa woman by a Sūta according to Auś. Smr.
4. Carmakāra is the offspring begotten by a Sūta on a Kṣatriya woman according to Auś. Smr.
5. Sūnika of Auś. Smr. corresponds to Khanaka of Vai. Dh. Sū. and so Udbandhu is the offspring begotten by Sūnika on a Kṣatriya woman according to Auś. Smr.
6. Rajaka is the offspring begotten by a Pulkasa on a Vaiśya woman according to Auś. Smr.
7. Śvapaca is the offspring begotten by a Caṇḍāla on a Vaiśya woman according to Auś. Smr.

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